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Pan
Africa.
North
Morocco

MOROCCO

Under the Protectorate

FORTY YEARS OF FRENCH ADMINISTRATION



MOROCCO

Under the Protectorate:

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His Sherifian Majesty, MOHAMMED V, Sultan of Morocco.

Morocco
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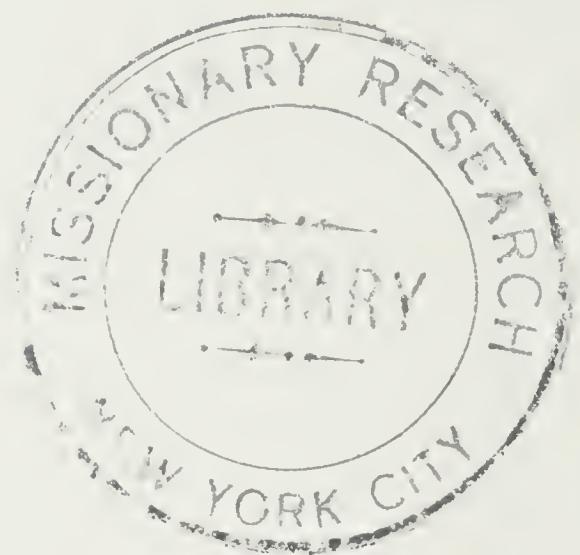


**An Analysis of the
FACTS AND FIGURES**

**THE ISTIQLAL (INDEPENDENCE) PARTY OF MOROCCO
MOROCCAN OFFICE OF INFORMATION AND DOCUMENTATION**

60 Sutton Place South, New York, N. Y.

1613 Harvard Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.



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Morocco

1952

International Zone

Spanish Zone

Miles



Introduction and Summary

MORE THAN FORTY YEARS have elapsed since the French Protectorate was imposed upon Morocco with the avowed purpose of "introducing reforms and assuring the economic development of the country." (Preamble, *Treaty of Fez*, March 30, 1912).

In 1953, it might well be asked: "What are the net results of forty years of French rule in Morocco?"

"How have the Moroccan people fared under the French Protectorate?"

In the language of the *Treaty of Fez* it might be asked: "What manner of reforms have been introduced?"

"What progress has been achieved in the economic development of the country?"

It is the French contention that the past forty years have brought untold benefit to the Moroccan population in the form of "pacification" and "modernization" of the country and in the improvement of the social and economic condition of the population. These claims are disputed by the *Istiqlal* (Independence) Party of Morocco because they conflict with the facts. The present crisis in Morocco stems from the very fact that French efforts in Morocco during the past four decades have blatantly disregarded the welfare of the Moroccan people. Virtually all governmental policies have been directed toward the enhancement of the French colonial population and the entrenchment of its economic control over the country at the expense and to the detriment of the Moroccan people.

One of the main purposes of the Protectorate was to bring about the introduction of administrative reforms. In this connection, the *Treaty of Fez* did not call for the replacement of the existing native administration, known as the Sherifian Makhzen, by direct French administration. The Makhzen was to be "reformed" not "replaced". But French policy in the past forty years has been so conceived that today the Makhzen has all but been stripped of the functions it performed before the Protectorate. These functions have been incorporated into an ever expanding French administrative bureaucracy which eats up a large portion of the budget. This administrative bureaucracy functions almost exclusively in the interest of the minority French population (constituting only 5% of the total population) while generally disregarding the interests and welfare of the native Moroccan population. Ironically the native population, constituting 95% of the total population, is forced to pay for an administration designed to perpetuate colonial domination and exploitation by this small French minority.

The French make frequent and particular reference to progress achieved since the end of the "pacification" program which occurred towards the end of 1934. Extravagant claims have been made by the French concerning the growth of industry, trade, education and general well-being of the people of Morocco. In fact, however, these advantages have accrued only to the French colonists while Moroccans have in many respects suffered a marked deterioration in their living conditions. What little industrialization has been achieved has developed at the expense of the Moroccan people for the advantage of private French colonists

and as a crutch for the French economy. While the wealth and resources of Morocco are dissipated to serve the needs of the French, Moroccan industry is starved for want of capital and raw materials. A country which once was a food surplus and exporting area, Morocco has been reduced to depending upon food imports to satisfy her meagre wants.

After forty years of the French Protectorate, Moroccans are increasingly ill-housed, ill-fed, ill-clothed, deprived of civil rights and of equal and unrestricted access to education. While 94% of French children of school age attend schools in Morocco at the expense of the Moroccan people, only 6% of Moroccan children are permitted this luxury. Higher education is a virtual impossibility for Moroccans. Out of an indigenous population of over 8,500,000 there are less than a dozen Moroccan physicians and the number of people in Morocco per physician (of all nationalities) is 14,000. The average for Moroccans only is 1 physician for 43,300 Moroccans compared with the ratio of 1 to 1300 persons in France and 1 to 1100 non-Moroccans in Morocco. Censorship of the press by direct and indirect means restricts the dissemination of information to the Moroccan people. Thus, the number of newspapers allowed to the Moroccan population is stringently curtailed while the importation of publications printed in Arabic has been virtually banned by decree of the Resident-General. Moroccans are forbidden to form trade unions and even the Moroccan Scouts movement was dissolved in 1942 and is still prohibited.

After forty years of the French Protectorate, the most fertile Moroccan farm land is increasingly alienated to French colonists while on the other hand, since 1938 the area cultivated by Moroccans has declined by one-sixth. During this post-war period the Moroccan population increased by 25%. Irrigation, mechanization and the use of fertilizers are channelled and made available almost exclusively to French colonists. As a result, the yield on indigenous farms is disgracefully low and the peasants are completely at the mercy of the vagaries of the weather. It is largely to this callous indifference to the plight of the Moroccan agriculturalist on the part of the French Protectorate that one can ascribe the death of one million Moroccans in the famines of 1937 and 1945.

After forty years of the French Protectorate, the mineral wealth of the country is rapidly being dissipated to satisfy the raw material needs of the French economy and to fill the pockets of French colonists. Capital drains from Morocco as a result of the French Government's trade policy which uses Morocco as a source of foreign exchange and high profits. Even the Marshall Plan aid which France received without cost is passed on to Morocco, — at a cost of 1½% interest. It has not been possible to establish a stable monetary base since the abolition of Moroccan currency by the Protectorate in 1920. The substitution of a Moroccan franc with a value tied inextricably to that of the French franc has unnaturally subjected Morocco to all of the vicissitudes and instability which accompanied the deterioration of French currency, particularly in the post-war period. By this means, France has added inflation to its list of exports to Morocco.

After forty years of the French Protectorate the financial burden of administration has swollen incredibly. Between 1936 — after the end of the "pacification", the cost of which was borne by the Moroccan people — and 1951, budgetary expenditures for personnel alone, (mainly French) expanded by over thirty-eight times. Moroccans are saddled with a regressive tax structure which through indirect taxes and certain direct taxes such as the Tertib or land tax, places the bulk of the tax burden upon those least able to pay, the Moroccan peasants.

The heritage of forty years of French domination in Morocco offers nothing to justify French claims of assistance to the Moroccan people. The reforms referred to in the Treaty of Fez, which was imposed upon the Moroccan Government by force of arms, have turned out to be measures to convert the Moroccan economy into an appendage and extension of France's predatory economy. This legacy will be reviewed in detail in the following pages.

1 / Political Status

MOROCCO IS NOT A COLONY of France. Nor is it part of the French Union, either as an Associated State or in any other category. Morocco is a sovereign state over which the Republic of France exercises a Protectorate. Relations between Morocco and France are governed by the Treaty of Fez of March 30, 1912, which established the Protectorate.

Sovereignty over Morocco rests in His Sherifian Majesty, the Sultan Mohammed V, whose 25th anniversary of accession to the throne was celebrated on November 18, 1952. As a direct descendant of the Prophet Mohammed, the Sultan carries the noble title Sherif; — hence Morocco is known as the Sherifian Empire. The Sultan's sovereignty extends over all the zones of Morocco — French, Spanish and International (Tangier). Neither the Spanish nor the International zones are provided for in treaty arrangements with Morocco.

Prior to becoming a protectorate, Morocco was an independent state for more than one thousand years. Ever since the Arab invasions of the 7th and 8th centuries it had been independent and unlike its sister North African states under French rule, Algeria and Tunisia,



BAB EL MANSOUR, the magnificent 18th century gate at Meknes.



MOROCCO'S HERITAGE, a scholar at Karaouine University, Fez.

it never came under the Ottoman Empire. Morocco boasts a great history. In the early Middle Ages it was one of the most highly civilized countries in the western world. Its impressive contributions to the world's cultural heritage include early advances in such fields as chemistry, mathematics, philosophy and astronomy. The role of its great Medieval philosophers in reintroducing the ancient Greek philosophers, Aristotle and Plato, to the European Christian world is well known. In the Middle Ages its power extended into Spain, as far east as Tripoli and as far south as Timbuktu.

For hundreds of years, the Sherifian Empire maintained continuous diplomatic and economic relations with many European countries. As far back as 1610 it signed a treaty with Holland. In ensuing years it entered into treaties with England, Denmark, France, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, and Sweden. In 1787, Morocco was one of the first foreign powers to enter into diplomatic relations with the newly established republic — the United States of America. On this occasion, His Majesty the Sultan presented the United States with a palace in Tangier, which is serving to this day as the Legation of the United States in Morocco.

It is frequently asserted that at the time of the establishment of the Protectorate in

To the Emperor of Morocco,
His Majesty Sidi Mohammed Ben Abdellah

City of New York, December 1, 1789

Great and Magnanimous Friend:

Since the date of the letter which the late Congress, by their president, addressed to your Imperial Majesty, the United States of America have thought proper to change their government and to institute a new one, agreeable to the Constitution, of which I have the honor of, herewith, enclosing a copy. The time necessarily employed in the arduous task, and the derangements occasioned by so great, though peaceable a revolution, will apologize, and account for your Majesty's not having received those regular advices and marks of attention from the United States which the friendship and magnanimity of your conduct toward them afforded reason to expect.

The United States, having unanimously appointed me to the supreme executive authority in this Nation, your Majesty's letter of the 17th August, 1788, which by reason of the dissolution of the late government, remained unanswered, has been delivered to me. I have also received the letters which your Imperial Majesty has been so kind as to write, in favor of the United States, to the Bashaws of Tunis and Tripoli, and I present to you the sincere acknowledgements and thanks of the United States for this important mark of your friendship for them.

We greatly regret that the hostile disposition of those regencies toward this nation, who have never injured them, is not to be removed, on terms in our power to comply with. Within our territories there are no mines, either of gold or silver, and this young nation, just recovering from the waste and desolation of a long war, have not, as yet, had time to acquire riches by agriculture and commerce. But our soil is bountiful, and our people industrious, and we have reason to flatter ourselves that we shall gradually become useful to our friends.

The encouragement which your Majesty has been pleased, generously, to give to our commerce with your dominions, the punctuality with which you have caused the Treaty with us to be observed, and the just and generous measures taken in the case of Captain Proctor, make a deep impression on the United States and confirm their respect for, and attachment to your Imperial Majesty.

It gives me pleasure to have this opportunity of assuring your Majesty that, while I remain at the head of this nation, I shall not cease to promote every measure that may conduce to the friendship and harmony which so happily subsist between your Empire and them, and shall esteem myself happy in every occasion of convincing your Majesty of the high sense (which in common with the whole Nation) I entertain of the magnanimity, wisdom and benevolence of your Majesty. In the course of the approaching winter, the national legislature, which is called by the former name of Congress, will assemble, and I shall take care that nothing be omitted that may be necessary to cause the correspondence between our countries to be maintained and conducted in a manner agreeable to your Majesty and giving satisfaction to all the parties concerned in it.

May the Almighty bless your Imperial Majesty, our Great and Magnanimous friend, with His constant guidance and protection.

(signed)

George Washington

This text of a most interesting letter from George Washington, first President of the United States of America to His Majesty Sidi Mohammed Ben Abdellah is eloquent testimony of Morocco's historical tradition as an independent state.



MOHAMMED V. A popular sovereign.



1912, Morocco no longer existed as an independent sovereign state. No less a person than Marshall Pierre Lyautey, the conqueror of Morocco and the first French Resident-General in the country has demonstrated the untruth of this assertion, in the following statements:¹

“We have found in this country, a state and clearly defined people . . . Most of the existing institutions still stood on their feet, and they represented something real. There exists not only a definite political organization but also an important judicial machinery . . .”

“The more I see of the natives, the longer I live in this country, the more I am convinced of the greatness of this nation. While in other parts of North Africa we found nothing but a society crumbling into dust, as a result of former anarchy and lack of power, here, thanks to the permanent power assured by all the dynasties following one another continuously, thanks to the maintenance of essential institutions, in spite of revolutions, we found a stable empire and with it a great and beautiful civilization . . .”

In the late 19th century, Morocco's economic wealth and strategic value attracted the covetous eyes of the expanding imperialist powers of Europe. Morocco became a cause célèbre in the rivalries of European diplomacy. Not being a modern industrialized state, Morocco could not withstand the pressure of European imperialism, particularly France's determination, manifested repeatedly since France occupied Algeria, to gain control over the country. The General Act of Algeciras, an international treaty — signed on April 7, 1906 by Morocco, the United States, and eleven European powers including France — recognized the independence of Morocco and the sovereignty of its ruler. But this did not dispel France from fulfilling her intentions concerning Morocco. Morocco was maneuvered into a position of having to submit. By a series of secret treaties, France neutralized the Act of Algeciras and against the will of the Sultan Mulay Hafid the French Protectorate was imposed by force.²

The Moroccan people did not yield their independence without a struggle, notwithstanding the superior arms and wealth at the disposal of the French. It took France well over twenty years to conquer the country in its entirety. No greater testimony has been given to the determination of the Moroccan people to maintain their independence than by General Guillaume, the present Resident-General in Morocco, who said: “Not one of the native tribes came over to us. Not one of them submitted to us without fight. Not one of them accepted us without having been conquered by arms.” This step by step conquest of the Moroccan people fighting for the preservation of their independence is what the French facetiously refer to as the “pacification”.

Have forty years of protection under France altered Morocco's status as a sovereign entity? The answer to this is an emphatic “No!”. Morocco is still a sovereign state with a distinct status in international law and in the international community. This fact was very recently confirmed by the International Court of Justice in the Case Concerning the Rights of Nationals of the United States of America in Morocco (August 27, 1952), when it said:

It is not disputed by the French Government that Morocco, even under the Protectorate, has retained its personality as a State in international law . . .

. . . under this Treaty (of Fez) Morocco remained a sovereign State but it made an arrangement of a contractual character whereby France undertook to exercise certain sovereign powers in the name and on behalf of Morocco.

1. The first quotation is from a speech delivered on February 29, 1916. See Louis H. G. Lyautey, *Paroles d'Action*, Paris, 1927, p. 172. The second quotation is from General Guillaume's book *Les Berbères Marocains et la Pacification de l'Atlas Central*.

2. For a detailed discussion of the events leading up to the imposition of the French Protectorate see Parker T. Moon, *Imperialism and World Politics*, New York, 1926, pp. 197-218.

2 / Demography

DEMOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS, usually one of the more esoteric of social sciences, has been marshalled by the French as a political ally in their campaign to justify the perpetuation of the Protectorate in Morocco. A fantastic increase in the Moroccan population during the past forty years has been claimed by the French as being due to "the pacification of the country . . . the progress of hygiene and public health . . . the development of social services in the towns, and generally speaking, to modernization and raising the standard of living."¹

Forthcoming sections of this report deal with the questions of health conditions and the standard of living of the Moroccan and European populations in Morocco. As for the pacification of the country there appears to be little doubt that the French with their more advanced means of warfare were able to kill off far more of the peoples of Morocco during the twenty-five years of the "pacification" campaign than could possibly have been eliminated through whatever internecine strife may have existed. Since well over eighty percent of the Moroccan population live on the land, the improvements and modernization of the towns could only have aided the living conditions of the European settlers — that is, unless the "bidonvilles"² are included in the French category of modernization.

More recently the French have published a defense of their administrations in North Africa. Among others the booklet presents statistical data purporting to show the growth of the North African population while under French control. The following table presents these statistics:

TABLE I
POPULATION GROWTH IN NORTH AFRICA

	Before Arrival of French	1952	No. Years French Control	Average Annual Increase
Algeria (1830)	1,350,000	8,500,000	122	59,000
Tunisia (1881)	1,300,000	3,500,000	71	31,000
Morocco (1912)	2,500,000	8,500,000	40	150,000

Source: *Facts and Figures About French North Africa*, Office of Technical Publications of the French Prime Minister, October 1, 1952, p. 8.

1. *Morocco Today*, published by Editions Africaines Perceval for the French Residency. Rabat, 1952, p. 8.
2. "Bidonvilles", literally meaning tin-cities, are native shanty-towns that have mushroomed around Morocco's major cities since the establishment of the Protectorate. See pp. 24 and 37.

The incompatibility of these data becomes obvious upon examination, for the French claim that these areas while under French control had rates of population increase so varied as to defy credulity. Algeria, starting with the same population level as Tunisia had, according to the French, twice the average annual rate of increase. Morocco, with an initial population level roughly double that of Algeria and Tunisia, had an average annual population increment of almost three times as much as Algeria and five times that of Tunisia.

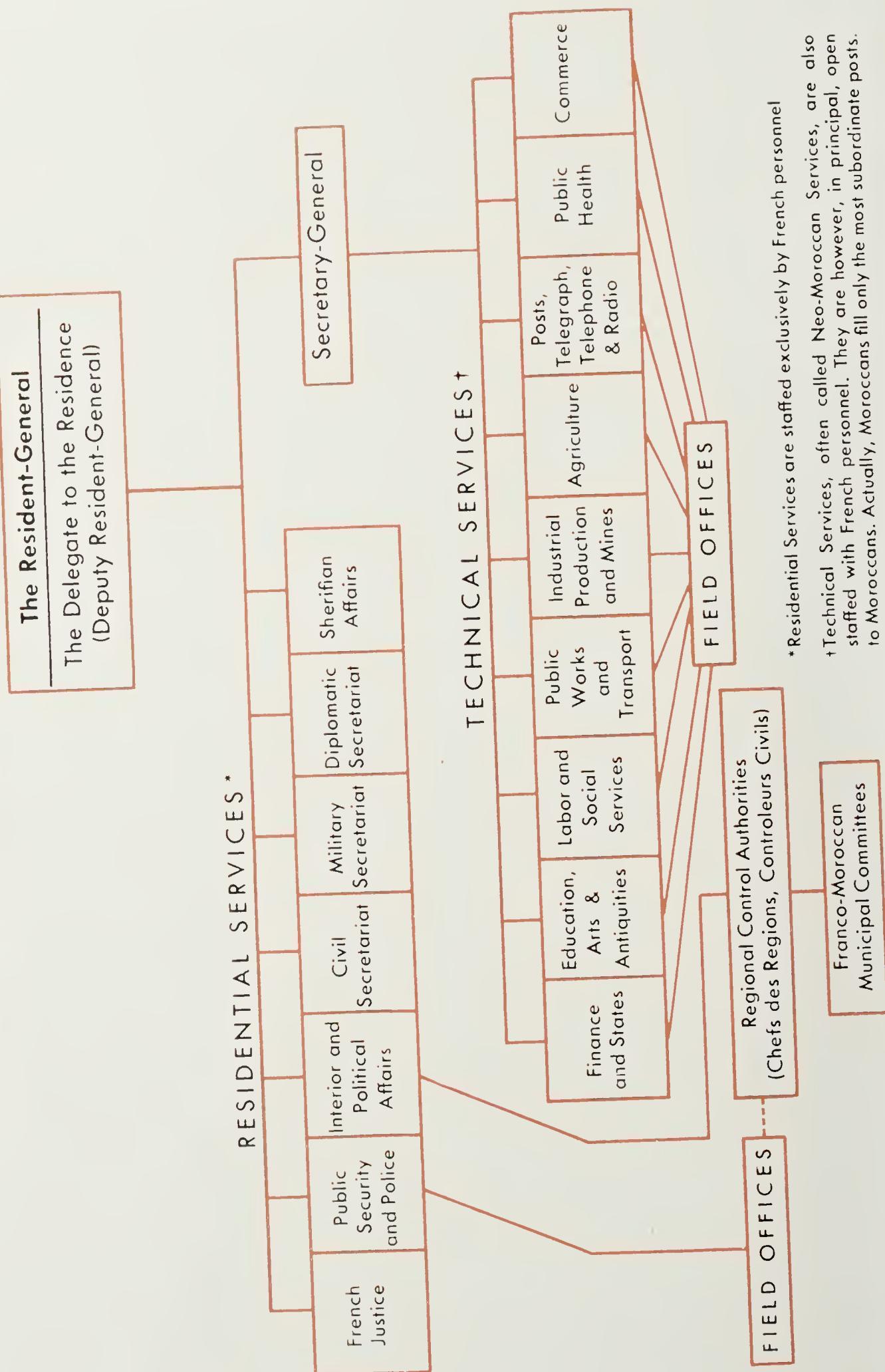
The reason for these discrepancies is clear. With relatively similar ethnic, cultural, religious and historical backgrounds, the rates of population growth of North Africa — even under the Protectorate — should have been of the same rough order of magnitude. The French, however, in their zealous attempt to vindicate their administration in North Africa have substituted propaganda for careful reportage. In order to prove their point (reference is now only to Morocco) an extremely low starting population was assumed.

The greater part of the Atlas region and the whole of southern Morocco resisted French military occupation during the period 1912-1935. Hence, any figure on population during that period made by the French is in the nature of a guess. The very fact that the first official census of Morocco could not be carried out by the French until 1936 substantiates this view. It is also a fact that even the censuses taken by the French are unreliable due to the questionable statistical techniques utilized. The population, for example, was not counted by means of individual questionnaires but the censuses were based upon approximate estimates or collective declarations. Finally, it has not been possible to check the census data by annual studies of natural growth because of the absence of a registration system covering births and deaths. The compulsory registration instituted in 1950 affected principally civil servants entitled to family allowances and did not cover at all the mass of the Moroccan people living in the countryside.

While there are no reliable census figures for 1912, there are estimates of the Moroccan population from earlier independent French sources that indicate a figure at great variance with current official French claims. Thus, in the *Annuaire du Maroc* published in 1907 under the auspices of the Comité du Maroc, a French association formed for the purpose of preparing the settlement of Frenchmen in Morocco, the Moroccan population is estimated at "about nine million inhabitants."

While purporting to indicate a remarkable increase in the native population under French auspices, the French population figures for non-Moroccans would seem to cover up the fact that there has been a tremendous increase in the foreign population of Morocco, particularly in recent years. A figure of 360,000 was announced as the result of a general census of the non-Moroccan population taken on April 15, 1951, and in the report *Facts and Figures About French North Africa* the current non-Moroccan population is set at 400,000. Analysis of other statistical data, namely immigration-emigration and birth-death rate figures, (which are assiduously maintained for Europeans in Morocco), reveal a total foreign population of 505,000 at the beginning of 1952. On March 1, 1947, the foreign population was estimated at 325,000. The natural increase of this population (excess of births over deaths) from 1947 through 1951 is 33,842. For the same period the total immigration, as shown by the excess of entries over exits, reveals an influx of 148,530 persons. Thus the correct number of foreign inhabitants of Morocco totals more than 505,000. The immigration figures, which do not take into account clandestine immigration, represent an alarming situation to the Moroccan people for it means strengthening of the French hold over the country, a further retardation of the fulfillment of the legitimate aspirations of the Moroccan people to take over the direction of their own affairs.

The French Protectorate Administration in Morocco



*Residential Services are staffed exclusively by French personnel

†Technical Services, often called Neo-Moroccan Services, are also staffed with French personnel. They are however, in principal, open to Moroccans. Actually, Moroccans fill only the most subordinate posts.

3 / Administration

WHEN THE FRENCH PROTECTORATE was imposed upon Morocco, a coherently organized government existed in the country. Prior to 1912, Morocco had been an independent sovereign state for more than 1,000 years. It is quite true that the Moroccan Government in 1912 did not have a modern administrative machinery. Nevertheless, it could boast a governmental machinery, known as the *Sherifian Makhzen*, that had worked more than adequately for many centuries and was only beginning to break down due to the external pressures created by the expanding European imperialism. Moreover, it could boast a machinery that was not highly centralized, not in the hands of a few feudal lords as has been frequently alleged, but one which was essentially democratic. It must be kept in mind that the society, which this system served so well for so many hundreds of years, was not a modern industrialized capitalist society where modern liberal democratic ideas and institutions had been nurtured. Hence, it would be wrong to seek exact counterparts in pre-1912 Morocco of these traditional democratic institutions. However, a democratic character is nevertheless to be found in the self-governing and independent Morocco of pre-Protectorate days. It is to be found in the fundamentally democratic institution of the *djemaa*, the local consultative assembly, whose counsel was sought and followed by the representatives of the central authority.

At the head of Morocco's political structure was the Sultan, the spiritual and temporal ruler of the country. Aiding him were a group of ministers, heading the following departments: Foreign Affairs, Justice, Finance, War, Interior, and Religious Foundations. All these departments came under the immediate supervision of the Grand Vizier, who was the Sultan's Prime Minister and who also headed the ministry of the Interior. In addition to this administrative organization, there existed a national consultative body known as the *Majlis el-Ayaie* (Assembly of Notables) which was frequently consulted by H.M. the Sultan, particularly on important international matters.

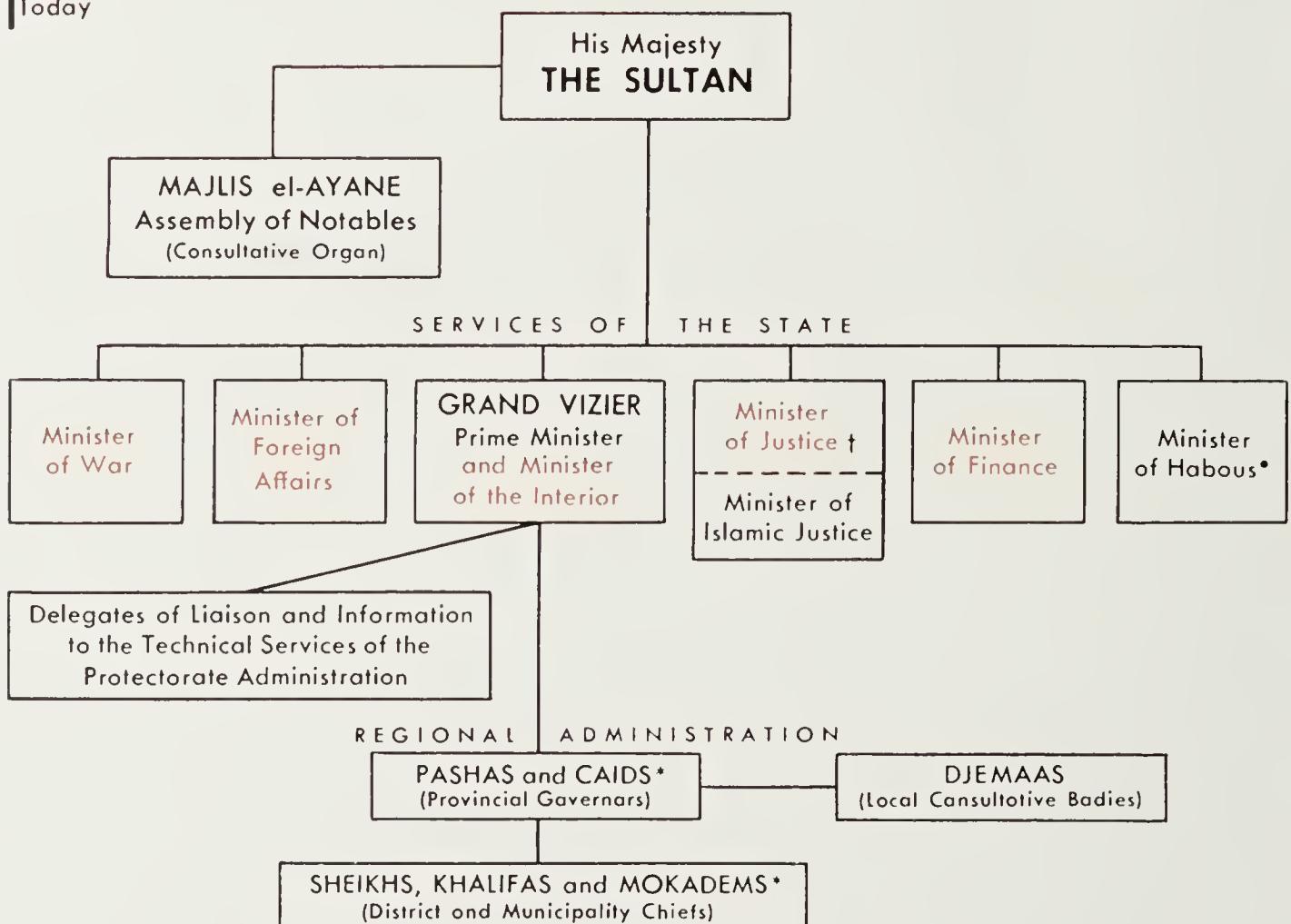
When the Protectorate was established, it was this governmental organization that was supposed to be reformed and adapted to the requirements of the modern world. According to the Treaty of Fez, the sovereignty of the Sultan and the traditional Makhzen was not to be replaced. The Sultan was still to remain sovereign and while the Makhzen was to be reformed and other administrative reforms introduced, traditional institutions of the state were to be preserved. What actually has taken place in Morocco during the past forty years in the field of governmental administration is in blatant contradiction to what was supposed to happen according to the provisions of the Treaty of Fez.

A de facto alteration of the Sultan's sovereignty and a replacement of the Makhzen by a direct French administration has been accomplished by the French rulers. Much of the pre-1912 Moroccan governmental structure has been completely abolished. Only the Grand Vizier's Office and the Ministries of Islamic Justice and Religious Foundations remain. Those portions of the Makhzen remaining have been only preserved nominally, to serve as

The Structure of the MAKHZEN, Past and Present

Prior to the Establishment of the Protectorate (1912)

Today



† Prior to the Protectorate, the Ministry of Justice in the Makhzen had jurisdiction over all residents of Morocco except in the case of nationals of these few countries enjoying the privilege of extraterritoriality by treaty with Morocco. Since the establishment of the Protectorate, this Ministry's jurisdiction has been restricted to the Moslem population.

* The Minister of Habous administers the Public Land holdings entrusted to the Religious Authorities.

* Under the Protectorate Régime, these officials of the Makhzen exercise purely nominal authority. Real power rests with the French Regional Chiefs and Contrôleurs Civils. (See chart on French Protectorate Administration in Morocco.)

nothing more than a "front". Even those portions of the Makhzen that remained have been virtually stripped of all authority and relegated to a subordinate position to the powerful and ever-spreading French bureaucracy. Thus the Grand Vizier, while remaining the head of the Sherifian Administration in theory, has actually been supereeded by the French Secretary-General of the Protectorate who exercises most of the Grand Vizier's authority. Similarly, the Vizier of Justice and the Vizier of the Habous are under the strict control of high French officials in their departments, who actually direct the departments' activities. The Majlis el-Ayane, although not abolished, has for all practical purposes ceased to function as an independent body. Under strict French domination, it still retains the prerogative of electing the Sultan when the throne becomes vacant.

This situation prevails in the entire structure of the Protectorate government from the highest to the lowest levels. H.M. the Sultan is nominally the sovereign but actually it is the Resident-General who exercises sovereign authority. Even the legitimate power and

prerogatives of H.M. the Sultan to approve all legislation as required by the Treaty of Fez have been usurped by the Resident-General through the issuance of Residential-Decrees. This illegal practice has become much more general in recent years particularly under the "proconsulship" of General Juin and has been used as a means for strengthening the system of direct administration. Among the most flagrant illegal utilizations of the Residential decrees were those concerned with the appointment and dismissal of high Makhzen officials without the consent of H.M. the Sultan or the Grand Vizier.

Analogous situations are to be found on the regional and local levels. In these cases it is not the native authorities — Pashas, Caids, and Khalifas — who exercise authority, albeit in their hands nominally, but it is the French Chef de Région, Contrôleur Civil, and Head of Municipal Services who wield the actual power. Originally all these French offices were established as supervisory services for advising and assisting the Sherifian Government in conformity with the spirit of the Protectorate Treaty. However, the point has been reached where the original purpose is being blatantly disregarded and French officials are actually replacing the Makhzen in the management of Moroccan affairs.

Thus, the Makhzen has been relegated to a minor role and a direct French administration has been superimposed with an elaborate network of French bureaucracy enmeshing the country. This bureaucracy can be divided into two broad categories. The first, known as the Residential Services, includes the Department of French Justice, Diplomatic Secretariat, Military Secretariat, Civil Secretariat, Department of Public Safety and Gendarmerie, Department of Sherifian Affairs, Department of the Interior, and the Office of Political Affairs. All departments in the category of Residential Services are staffed entirely by Frenchmen. The second category, known as "technical services", includes the Departments of Finance and Estates, Education, Arts and Antiquities, Labor and Social Services, Public Works and Transportations, Industrial Production and Mines, Agriculture, Post, Telegraphs, Telephones and Radio, Public Health, and Commerce. While these latter departments are in principle open to Moroccans, they are staffed almost exclusively by Frenchmen. Only the most subordinate positions are filled by Moroccans.

It is not surprising that Moroccans have been "frozen out" of the administration of the Protectorate and that little or no opportunity has been afforded to native Moroccans to participate in the running of their country. It is not surprising, for not to have done so would have been contrary to the true *raison d'être* of the Protectorate régime. As the subsequent chapters analysing the economic and social policies of the Protectorate clearly demonstrate, the directed aim of the Protectorate is to perpetuate the domination of the country by the minority French element of the population. The services performed by most of the departments of the Protectorate administration are not in the interest of the native Moroccans who represent 95% of the total population, but are directly in the interest of the French minority. It would be disastrous to trust an administration having such aims to native Moroccans, even partially. The detailed analysis of the budget to be found below shows clearly the extent to which the administration is organized to perpetuate selfish French interests to the exclusion of the real interests of the Moroccan people, while ironically showing that the Moroccan people are made to pay for this policy.

4 / Standard of Living

"FRANCE AND THE SHREEFIAN GOVERNMENT were not able till 1934 to bring to an end the work of pacification . . . which finally made it possible . . . to undertake the manifold tasks of modernization. . . . The curve of the progress of Morocco towards her future destinies thus swings regularly and rapidly upwards. . . . The average standard of living of the inhabitants of Morocco tends to rise steadily. . . . Factually, the undertaking has made good. Its results are written on the soil, on men's faces. . . ." With these words does the recently officially published apologia for the Protectorate régime, *Morocco Today*, boastfully seek to attribute to French rule in Morocco achievements that are at variance with the facts. Actually upon the faces of the people of Morocco one sees hunger, poverty, and despair — despair of raising the standard of living and despair of forestalling further declines in a level of economic life which long ago failed to meet the minimum standards of health and decency. Using the criterion proposed by the French Protectorate — that is, to consider the post 1934 period as indicative of French achievement in Morocco — a startling picture of the trend in Moroccan economic events is revealed. Table II shows the movement of prices and wages in the post-war period compared with 1938. It should be noted that these statistics depict the conditions of employed workers only. With the growth of unemployment largely due to the impoverishment and dispossession of agriculturalists, the economic conditions of growing numbers of Moroccans who have been forced from the land has been depressed far below that of the employed worker.

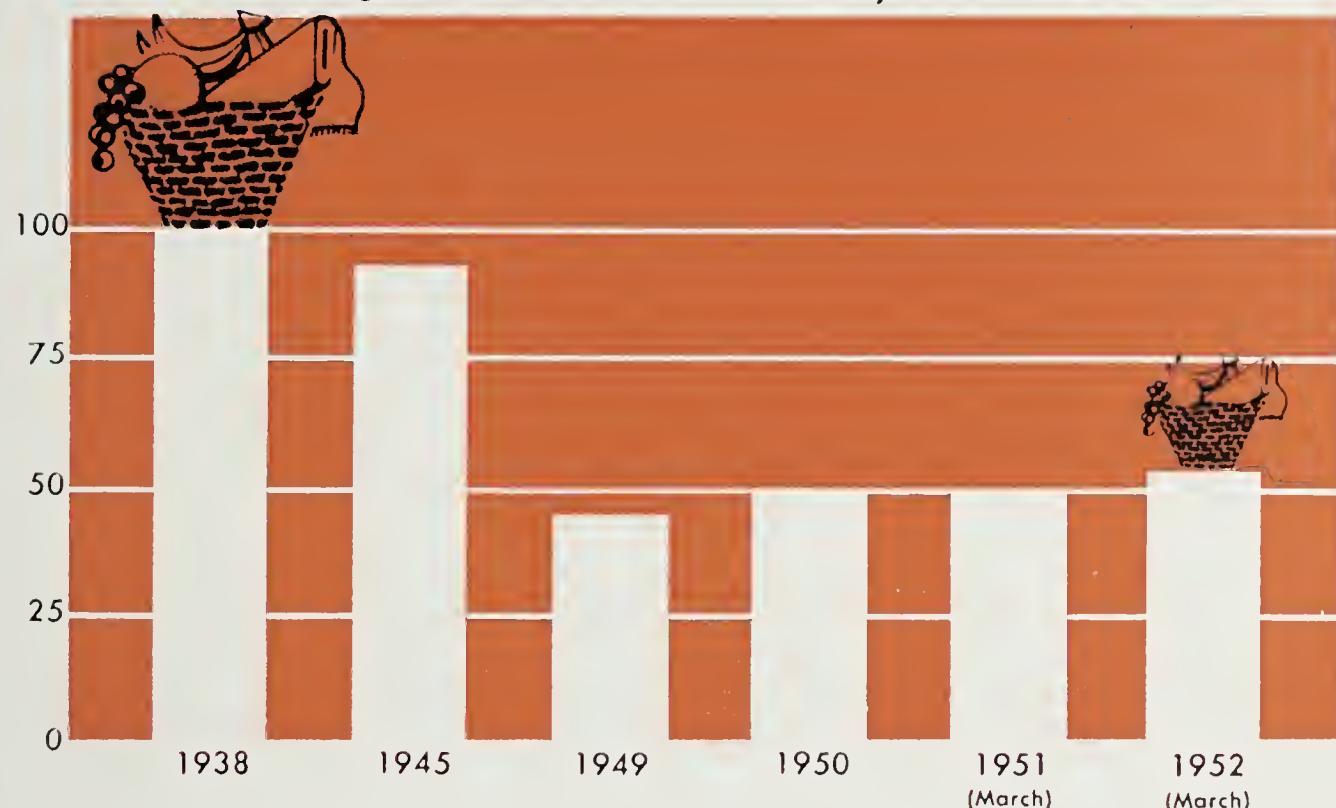
TABLE II
INDEXES OF COST OF LIVING & SALARIES PAID
TO WORKERS IN COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY
(1938 = 100)

	Cost of Living	Wages	% 1938 Purchasing Power
1945	398	370	93%
1949	1,912	870	45%
1950	1,825	950	50%
1951 (March)	2,179	1,095	50%
1952 (March)	2,786	1,478	52%

These data¹ reveal that while the cost of living has risen almost twenty-two times, wages have lagged far behind, having increased only eleven times. The net result indicates that

1. In all cases data are taken or computed from official French or United Nations sources.

Purchasing Power of a Moroccan Family from 1938 to 1952



the Moroccan family of 1951 had only one-half as much purchasing power as it had before the war. It is, of course, known to all that the standard of living in Morocco before the war was among the lowest prevailing in the economically under-developed countries of the world. A reduction of 50% in that level is in large measure responsible for the seething discontent which now pervades the towns and cities of that country.

A comparison of wage rates in force among agricultural workers indicates a more devastating trend. These employees do not enjoy even the nominal minimum salary scales established

TABLE III
AGRICULTURAL WORKERS' WAGE RATES
(Including payment in produce)

	Daily Rate
1945	20 — 25 francs
1949	35 — 100 francs
1950-51	35 — 150 francs

Source: Union General des Syndicats Marocaines, *Social Conditions of the Workers in Morocco*, March 1, 1951.

for workers in commerce and industry, who, by the way, have great difficulty in obtaining the minimum since they are not permitted to form trade unions to enforce the scale. Compare, for example, the 1950/51 rate of from 35 to 150 francs per day for agricultural workers with the official minimum rate (as of March 1951) of 34.6 francs per hour or 277 francs per day²

2. *Salaires Minima, (Applicables aux Ouvriers Occupés à L'Exécution de Travaux Publics ou du Batiment pour L'Etat, etc.)*, Rabat, Imprimerie Officielle, 1951.

established for workers in industry situated in zone four³ which closely corresponds to the geographical location of agricultural workers. Thus, the agricultural worker earns on the average one-third as much as does the poorly paid worker in commerce or industry.

The principle of equal pay for equal work, accepted throughout the civilized world, is not honored by the French Protectorate. The wages of European workers are higher than their Moroccan co-workers performing the same job. Women are paid less than men and among agricultural workers the daily rate for women rarely exceeds 50 francs or 14½ United States cents per day. Child labor, which is prevalent throughout the country, is used as a means of lowering still further the general wage level. Thus, by official decree (Dahir of 16 April, 1940) the following reductions in the official minimum wage scale are permitted:⁴

Children between the ages of 14 and 15 years — 50% lower
15 and 16 years — 40% lower
16 and 17 years — 30% lower
17 and 18 years — 20% lower

Discrimination between European and Moroccan workers exists in the payment of family allowances. Until 1947 only European workers were entitled to this extra assistance, which is paid from the Moroccan budget and financed largely by the Moroccan population. Moroccan workers were not granted this assistance. Since that time only a few categories of Moroccan workers employed in industry have been permitted to receive family allowances.

TABLE IV
FAMILY ALLOWANCES PAID TO BUS CONDUCTORS (IN FRANCS)

No. of Children	European Conductors	Moroccan Conductors
1	5,790	364
2	11,031	1,404
3	16,806	2,106
4	21,543	2,808
5	26,963	3,510
6	31,963	4,212
7	36,963	4,910
8	41,963	5,612

Source: Morocco, *Office of Documents & Information*, page 89.

Even here, however, there is no equality in payment as there is in the work performed. Take, for example, the case of employees employed in the Rabat Omnibus Company, a municipally subsidized line. This company, financed by the Moroccan people, grants the European employee with one child a family allowance sixteen times as much as his Moroccan colleague performing the same work. At the same time, a Moroccan worker with eight children receives less than a European with only one child though both workers perform the same work. This example is typical of the situation throughout the country.

-
- 3. Zone four constitutes the lowest salary category and includes workers residing outside of Casablanca, Fez, Marrakesh, Rabat and other large cities. It also excludes workers in most of the phosphate, coal and military areas of the country.
 - 4. *Salaires Minima*, 1951, op. cit.

Nor are the differences in treatment of Moroccan and European workers restricted to wages received. The cost of living data presented above covers the entire population without regard to national origin. It is interesting to see what official French Protectorate statistics have to say about differences in prices charged to Moroccans and non-Moroccans. By 1949

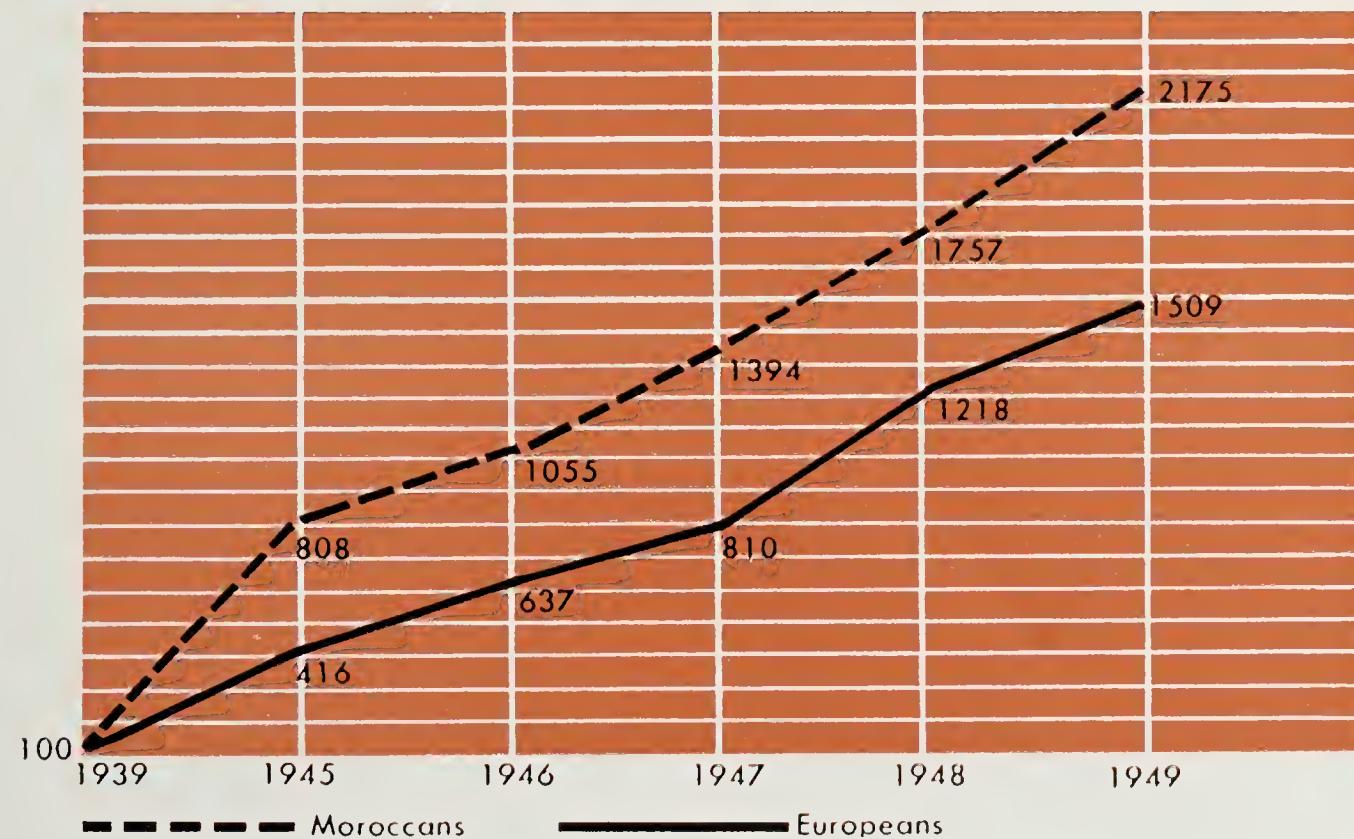
TABLE V
INDEX OF COST OF LIVING IN CASABLANCA
(Sept. 1939 = 100)

	Non-Moroccans	Moroccans
1945	416	808
1946	637	1,055
1947	810	1,394
1948	1,218	1,757
1949	1,509	2,175

Source: *Annuaire Statistique de la Zone Française du Maroc*, 1949.

the cost of living for Moroccans had risen almost 45% higher compared with pre-war than for Europeans. This is directly due to the fact that the hardest impact of the inflationary trend was upon the lowest income group of the country that is made up almost exclusively of Moroccans. Thus the incredible cut in the standard of living of 50% noted at the start of this section must be increased still further in the case of Moroccans — the lowest income group in the population.

Relative Rise in Cost of Living for Moroccans and Europeans



A more detailed analysis of the latest data available, 1949, clarifies the economic areas in which the discrepancies in the standard of living between Moroccans and Europeans exist. In Table VI below, the 1949 index number is shown in cross section. In each major subdivision of expenditure the Moroccan has been hit far harder than his European neighbor.

TABLE VI
COMPOSITION OF 1949 COST OF LIVING INDEX
(1939 = 100)

	General Index	Food	Heat & Light	Clothing	Housing	Misc.
Moroccans	2,175	2,160	1,802	2,634	2,250	1,671
Europeans	1,509	2,024	1,115	2,436	328	1,310

Source: *Annuaire Statistique de la Zone Française du Maroc, 1949*, p. 198.

This is particularly apparent with regard to the housing situation where the cost to Moroccans has climbed seven times higher than that charged to Europeans. Is it any wonder that shanty-towns⁵ in which hundreds of thousands of Moroccans are condemned to live in inhuman squalor, have mushroomed throughout the country?

Since 1942, for every budgetary franc spent on housing Moroccans, more than four francs were spent per European dwelling. This, despite the unspeakable conditions in which Moroccans have been forced to live.

In Casablanca alone the French administration estimated a shortage of 35,000 dwellings (this undoubtedly does not assume the relocation of Moroccans living in squalor and disease-provoking housing). To meet the housing shortage the French administration points to recent public construction "progress" such as: "Later the Housing Bureau built 3,240 dwellings in two years and the Department of Public Works which succeeded it, is at present completing 1,270 units while construction is being started on 1,000 more."⁶ Forty-five hundred dwellings in more than two years and plans for 1,000 more throughout all Morocco in the face of an admitted shortage of 35,000 in Casablanca alone. At that rate it would take between 20 and 35 years to meet the shortage in Casablanca alone without taking into account increases in population and the needs of the rest of the country.

Consumption per caput of the staples of life has declined since the pre-war period. If this has been true for the country as a whole how much more serious this must have been for Moroccans whose standards were cut, as we have seen, for more than the European segment of the population. While the statistical information on Morocco revealed by the Protectorate is limited and does not cover certain vital aspects of the economy, it has been possible to gather data with regard to three important items of consumption. Per caput consumption of textiles has declined as follows:

TABLE VII
PER CAPUT CONSUMPTION OF TEXTILES
(KGS.)

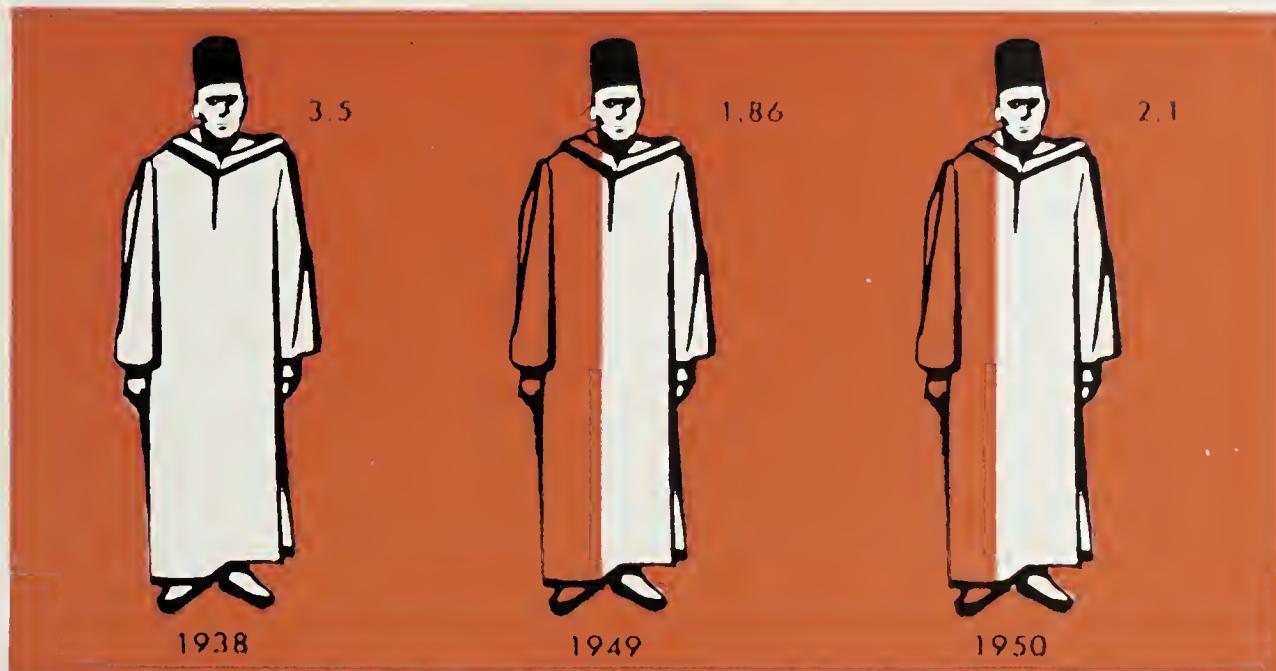
	1938	1949	1950
Cotton	2.2	.8	1.1
Wool	1.1	.9	.8
Rayon	.2	.16	.2
Total	3.5	1.86	2.1

Source: Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), Commodity Series "Per Caput Fiber Consumption Levels", Bulletin #21, Dec. 1951.

5. As early as 1945 more than 300,000 people were already in these tin-can cities. There are five such cities at Casablanca alone. In December 1952 Life Magazine estimated the number of people in the Bidonvilles of Casablanca at 500,000.
6. "Forty Years of French Technical Assistance to Morocco: The Economic Policy of the Protectorate", News from France No. 9, French Embassy, Press and Information Division, Nov. 15, 1951, p. 3.

Consumption of textiles per inhabitant has declined by 40% on the average since 1938. Cotton textiles, by far the most important item of clothing for Moroccans, has dropped in consumption by 50% per head while the use of wool, the more expensive cloth and available mainly to Europeans, declined by one-third.

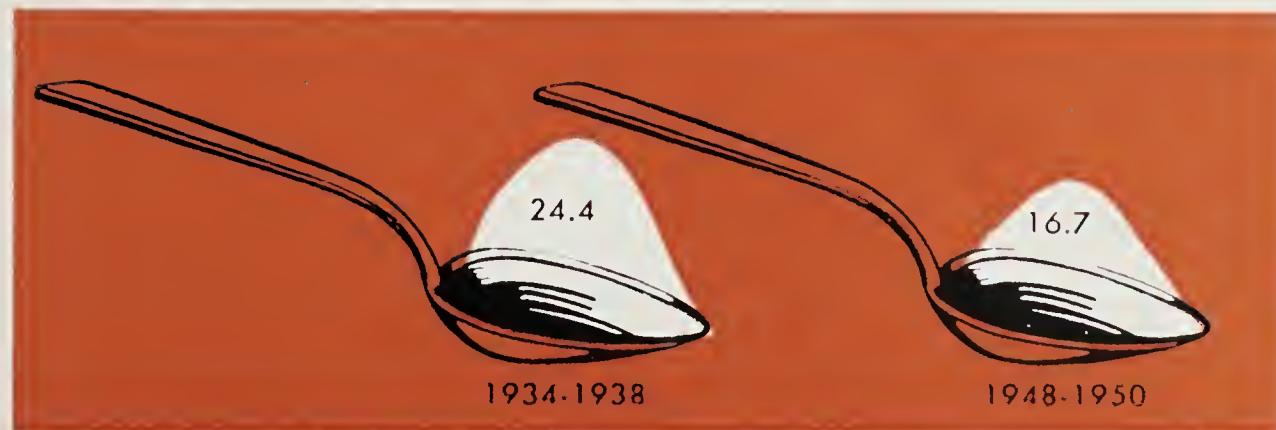
Decline of Textile Consumption



Similarly, the consumption of sugar has dropped from 24.4 Kg. per caput in the period 1934-38 to an average of 16.7 Kg. in the period 1948-50.⁷ This represents a post-war drop of forty percent compared with the pre-war average.

Morocco was a net exporter of wheat in the pre-war period 1934-38 but by 1950 this was reversed and Morocco became a net importer of wheat. Nevertheless consumption of wheat per caput in that year was less than pre-war.

Decline of Individual Sugar Consumption



7. Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), Commodity Series, "Sugar", Bulletin No. 22, Sept. 1952.

TABLE VIII
PER CAPUT CONSUMPTION OF WHEAT
(KGS.)

1934-38	85.3
1949	78.0
1950	80.7

Source: Computed from data in *La Conjuncture Economique Marocaine*, 1950; Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), 1951 Yearbook of Food & Agricultural Statistics; United Nations, Statistical Yearbook 1951.

As will be seen later in the analysis of the trade policies of the French Protectorate one interesting aspect of this conversion of Morocco from a wheat surplus to a wheat deficit area is the fact that: "Morocco now imports soft wheat and exports barley and corn".⁸ Morocco now must import the more expensive wheat and export the cheaper cereals to satisfy interests to the detriment of the Moroccan economy.

The history of the post "pacification" period in Morocco is one of constant decline in the standard of living of Moroccans. It is characterized by a sharp shrinkage in the quantities of food available for consumption, shortages of clothing and a constant deterioration in housing conditions for Moroccans. Rather than the prosperity and well-being so often proclaimed by the French, Morocco is a land of increasing poverty and squalor — for Moroccans. If there is any basis in the French claims it must be applied only to the European and in particular the French population in Morocco, for French policy has been one of clear discrimination in favor of the French colonists. On the basis of the above, it is clear what was meant by the French in the Treaty of 1912, by reforms and economic development. The measures taken have consistently followed the criterion of French interest and have conversely worked to the debasement of Moroccan living standards. On the basis of the above, can it be said that the French Government has satisfactorily discharged its obligations under the protectorate? The answer must inescapably be — No!

8. *News from France*, No. 9, op. cit., p. 9.

5 / Agriculture

THE MOROCCAN ECONOMY is overwhelmingly agricultural and pastoral in character, for well over 80% of the Moroccan population till the soil, tend flocks or cultivate orchards. In all, Morocco's land area totals approximately 390,000,000 hectares.¹ Of this, 15,500,000 hectares are arable, less than 5,000,000 hectares of which are sown to crops. The principal harvests are cereals (wheat, corn and barley), fruits and vegetables. Over 7,000,000 hectares are left as permanent meadows and pastures and an additional 3,500,000 hectares, or almost 10% of the total land area, is made up of forests and woodlands. Moroccan orcharding is concerned mainly with the cultivation of olive, almond, fig and citrus trees among others, while Moroccan sylviculture includes principally cedar, oak and juniper trees.

The discrimination practiced in favor of French colonists and to the detriment of Moroccans is nowhere more blatantly and alarmingly apparent than that followed by the French Protectorate with regard to the land. After forty years of the French Protectorate less than one-third of the arable area is cultivated. During this period of "modernization" only fifty-thousand hectares of new land have been irrigated, virtually all of which has been for the benefit of French colonial settlers.

Although mining of phosphatic rock has been developed as a large scale industry in Morocco, its benefits have accrued to the French colonists and to the French economy which imports this valuable fertilizer material in large quantity. The use of other plant nutrients is similarly unknown to the mass of Moroccan farmers. Virtually all of the superphosphate produced in Morocco — 110,000 tons in 1949 — is either consumed on European's farms in Morocco or exported.² Of the 6,600 tractors in all of Morocco, the result of forty years of modernization, virtually none is available to the Moroccan landowner. Aided by financial assistance from the Protectorate, the French colon on the other hand, has available to him the irrigation systems, chemicals and equipment necessary to guarantee continued high levels of output without regard to meteorological lapses. The Moroccan landowner, despite the "Rural Modernization" program, still must cultivate his land with primitive equipment, without the use of chemical fertilizers and completely at the mercy of the weather. As a result, the variations in harvests from year to year on indigenous farms are sharp. In drought years, the effect is very severely felt by Moroccan farmers whereas its effect upon protected European-owned farms is relatively light. During the bad years of 1926-7, 1937-8, and especially the period 1943-6 there were sharp reductions in the areas under cultivation by Moroccans while the land areas cultivated by Europeans either remained constant or increased.³ Thus, in 1940, Moroccan farmers cultivated 4.2 million hectares and in 1945 this

1. A hectare equals 10,000 sq. meters or 2.471 acres.

2. *Morocco Today*, op. cit. Moroccan industry produced 26,745 tons of hyperphosphate in 1949, of which 18,300 tons were exported.

3. *Ibid.*

had fallen to 2.5 million hectares while in the latter year foreign settlers owned and worked 25% more area than in 1940.

Table IX shows the trend in production of six of the most important Moroccan crops. As was noted previously French Protectorate economic policies have resulted in a lag in the size of the wheat harvest as compared with the growth in population. At the same time the great variation in annual harvests of the various crops is sharply illustrated by the trend in production of maize, barley and flaxseed. Total grain output declined from an average of two million metric tons in the period 1934-38 to 1.8 million tons in 1950. This decline was due entirely to a falling off in the output of Moroccan farms since European settlers were producing over 25% more in the latter year than pre-war.

TABLE IX
AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION IN MOROCCO
(1000 METRIC TONS)

	1934-38	1949	1950
Wheat	631	638	665
Maize	213	400	116
Barley	1,148	1,368	992
Flaxseed	8	62	14
Grapes	91	80	110
Oranges	38 ^a	132	136

^a 1935-39

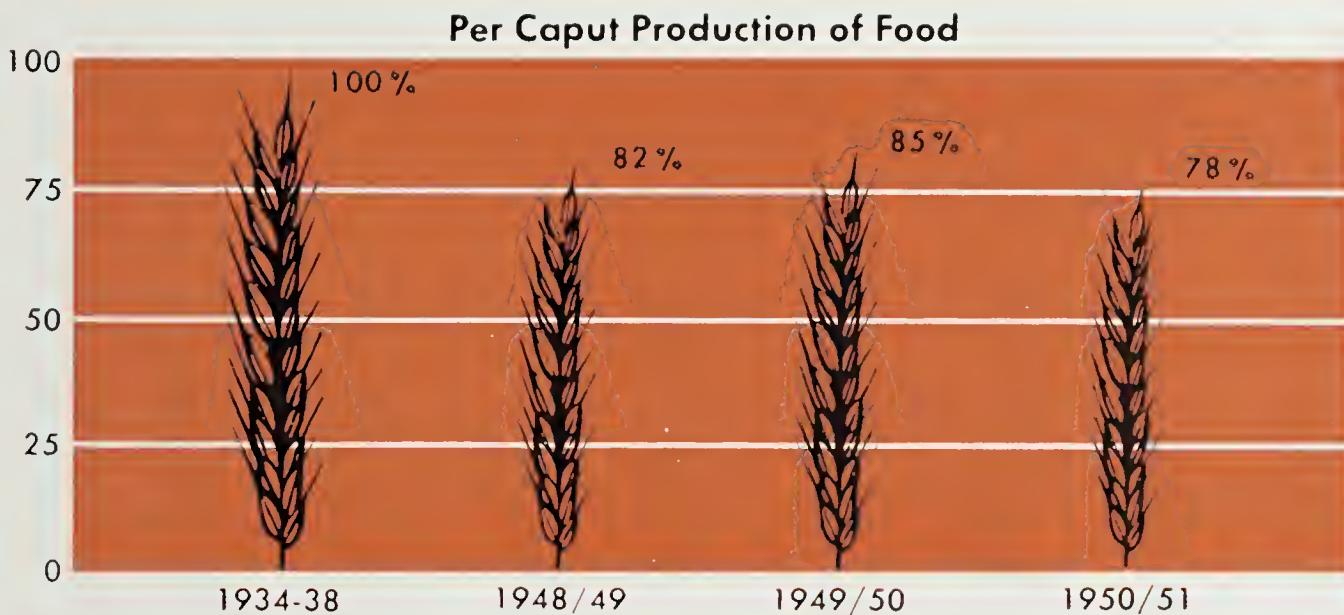
Source: United Nations Statistical Yearbook, 1951; FAO, 1951 Yearbook of Food and Agricultural Statistics; *La Conjoncture Economique Marocaine*, 1950.

As a direct consequence of the policies pursued by the French Protectorate, the food position of the Moroccan population has considerably worsened during the last fifteen years. For centuries Morocco had helped with its food surpluses to feed not only its own population but also those of other countries. Forty years of French domination has reversed this picture of plenty. During the last fifteen years the per caput production of food in Morocco has declined by about 22% (see Table X). Now the country must import needed foodstuffs at a far higher cost to the hard-pressed population.

TABLE X
INDEX OF AGRICULTURAL (FOOD) PRODUCTION AND
PER CAPITA FOOD PRODUCTION
(1934-38 = 100)

	Food	Per Caput Food Production
1948/49	104	82
1949/50	112	85
1950/51	106	78

Source: Calculated on basis of data in Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), 1951 Yearbook of Food and Agricultural Statistics; United Nations Statistical Yearbook, 1951; *Annuaire Statistique de la Zone Française du Maroc*, 1949.



Another direct consequence of the disparity in the position under the Protectorate of the French colon and the indigenous farmer is the wide divergence in harvest yield per hectare. The favored position of the French colon⁴ has resulted in a far greater return per hectare for him with less work. Assistance rendered to him by the French Protectorate has resulted in the following yields for the major crops.

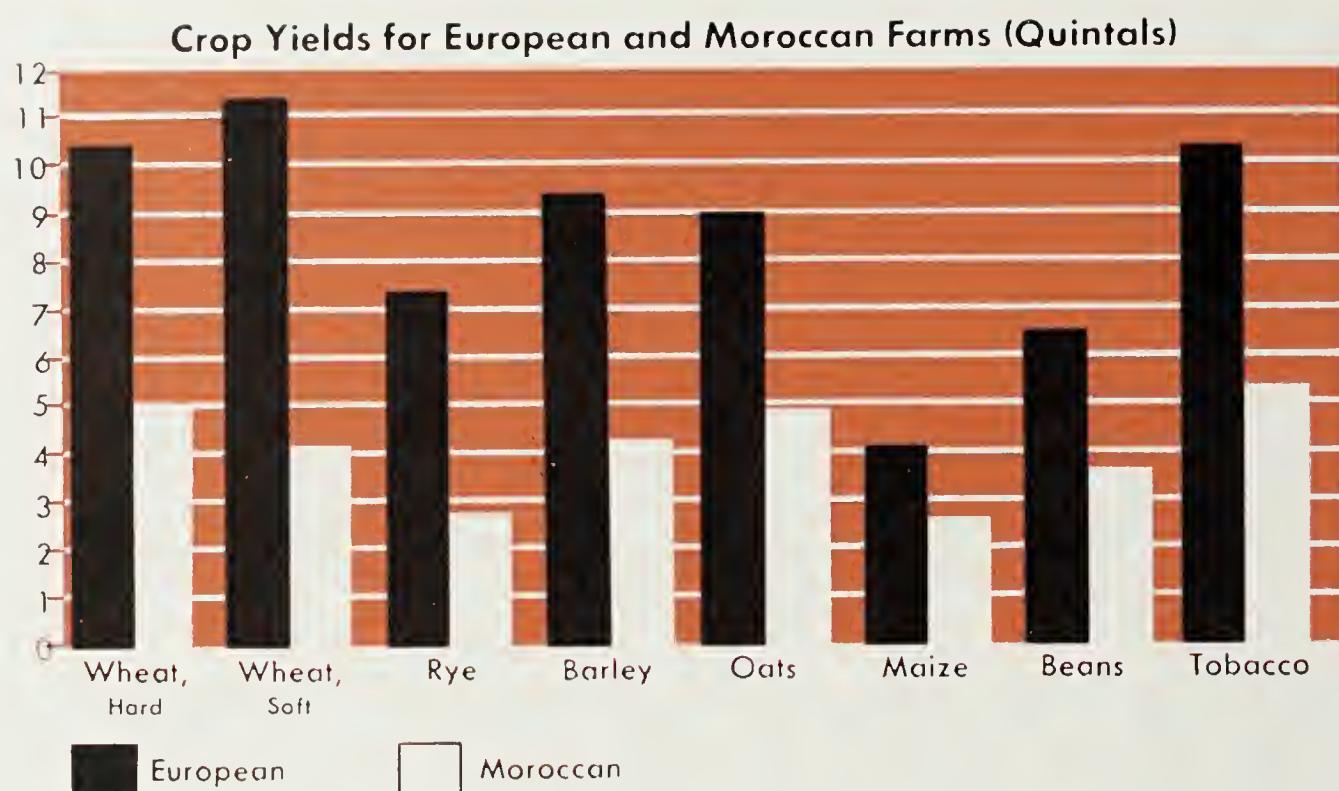
TABLE XI
CROP YIELDS PER HECTARE, 1949/50
(QUINTALS)

	European Farms	Moroccan Farms
Wheat, Hard	10.4	5.0
Soft	11.3	4.2
Rye	7.3	2.7
Barley	9.3	4.3
Oats	9.0	4.9
Maize	4.1	2.6
Beans	6.6	3.6
Tobacco	10.3	5.3

Source: *La Conjoncture Economique Marocaine*, 1950, p. 6.

Almost twice as much hard wheat, oats, maize, beans and tobacco, over twice as much barley, and almost three times as much soft wheat per hectare is obtained on the European farm (9/10 of which are French) by virtue of its support by French Protectorate policies than is possible on that of the toiling Moroccan farmer. Certainly it cannot be said that harder work produced greater yields on European farms for the labor on European farms is performed almost entirely by Moroccan agricultural workers. If diligent effort is the main determinant of yield it is obvious that the Moroccan farmer tilling his own land would have far more incentive for work than would the Moroccan laborer forced from his own land to work for the extremely low wages paid on French-owned farms.

4. By the beginning of 1935 the Resident-General was able to report that 275,000,000 francs had already been loaned by the Moroccan Government to foreign colonizers and an additional 225,000,000 francs in loans from private lending institutions had been guaranteed by the same Government. This constituted one-half the private colonial investment of one billion francs.



The irrigation networks are operated mainly by syndicated sociétés (companies), comprised exclusively of European settlers, with the financial help of the French administration. The larger water shed projects, started before the war, are conceived in the same spirit. The one exception is the Beni-Amir project which largely remains in the hands of Moroccan peasants by virtue of their militant opposition to expropriation in favor of French colonists. Even here, however, the stubborn resistance of Moroccan landowners has been pierced. When the dam on the Oued-el-Abid is completed, it will be possible to cultivate approximately 150,000 hectares by means of irrigation projects. Actually 18,000 hectares in the region have already been irrigated and cultivated by the Ben-Amir. Of the total area already developed 4,300 hectares or almost 25% are under the control and management of local French directors.⁵

One of the most shocking policies followed by the French in Morocco is the officially sponsored campaign of expropriation of Moroccan-owned land by French colonial settlers. This policy is particularly important since it has been in the past and is now a prime cause of discontent among the Moroccan population. This program received "legal" sanction almost at the outset of the Protectorate when in decrees issued in 1914 and 1927 it became possible to expropriate Moroccan-owned land for public and French colonization purposes. By expropriation over 1,000,000 out of the total of 5,000,000 hectares under cultivation consisting of some of the most fertile Moroccan land has passed over to European settlers. As Morocco's first Resident-General Lyautey stated in 1916, the French administration encouraged "a horde of Frenchmen to stake out land and take possession, creating titles to this land without inquiring too closely into their legal rights to it."⁶

There are at present less than five thousand European settlers on Moroccan land, the overwhelming majority of whom are of French origin. Moroccan landowners, on the other hand, totalling 1,300,000, cultivate less than 4,000,000 hectares. Thus, the average Moroccan holding is about three hectares. It must, of course, be remembered that this average lumps together the few very large estates belonging for the most part to Moroccan favorites

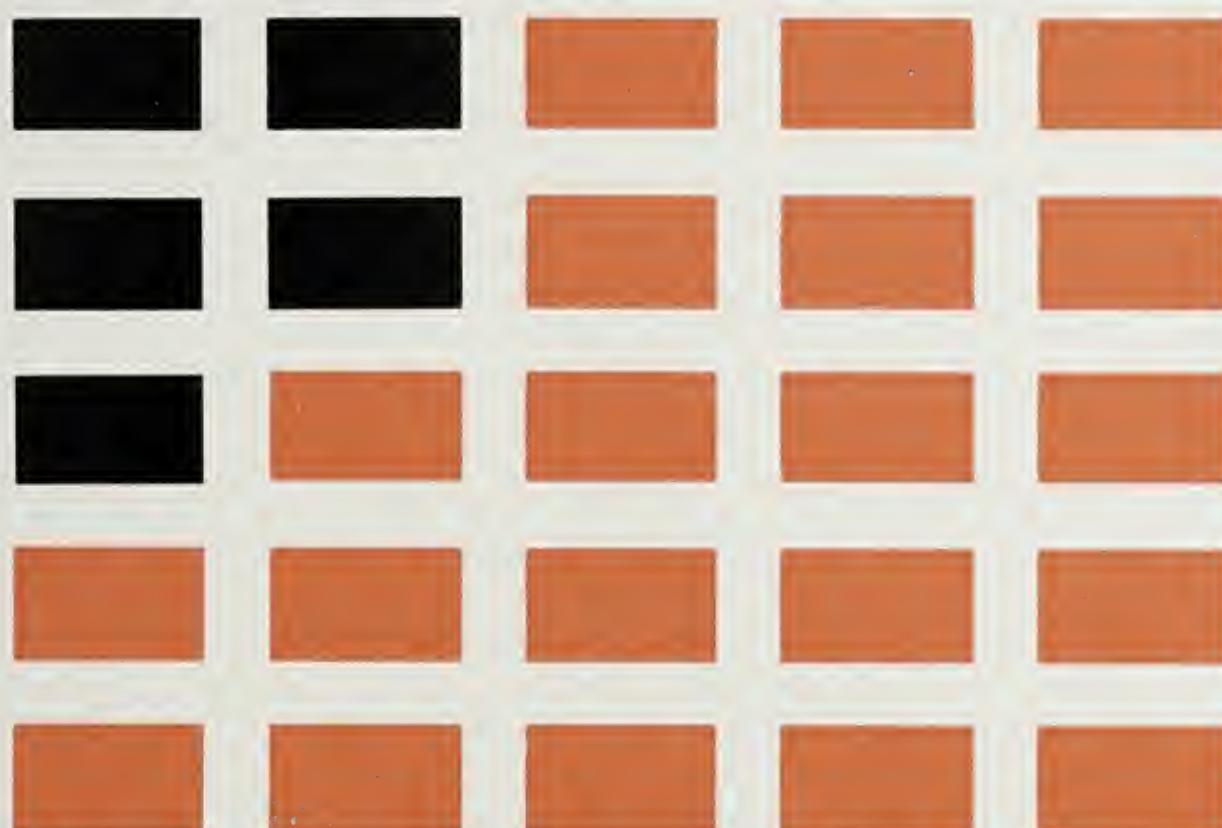
5. 2,300 hectares taken from collective lands in joint partnerships and 2,000 hectares purchased from fellahin (Moroccan peasants) who were forced to cede their lots.

6. Quoted in Pierre Parent, *Causerie sur le Maroc de 1951*, Toulouse, 1951, p. 8.

of the French Protectorate and those of the mass of Moroccan landowners whose plots are, in a great number of cases, less than one hectare. One vicious aspect of the fragmentation in the size of the average Moroccan-owned holding is that its uneconomic character leads to poverty, indebtedness, and accelerated expropriation of their lands by more opulent European settlers. "The peasant is imprisoned within the walls of his own agricultural system; year by year his numbers grow and the walls remain."⁷

By 1923 General Lyautey was able to boast to the Academy of Agriculture in France: "Please note that during the ten years of the Protectorate, despite five years of war, we have already established more than 1,000 settlers on over 400,000 hectares of land. This is a lot and these figures increase every day."⁸ Within the next three years the number of settlers doubled and the land area alienated to them increased to almost 645,000 hectares. Continuing this trend, the foreign landowners of Moroccan soil had sequestered by 1935 a total of 835,000 hectares, increasing their number to 3,800. At the present time, this group numbers almost 5,000 and they control well over one million hectares of rich Moroccan farmland.

Expropriation of Moroccan Land for European Settlement*



Each rectangle represents 200,000 hectares

Number of European Settlers = 5,000

Number of Moroccan Settlers = 1,300,000
(Including those having very large estates)

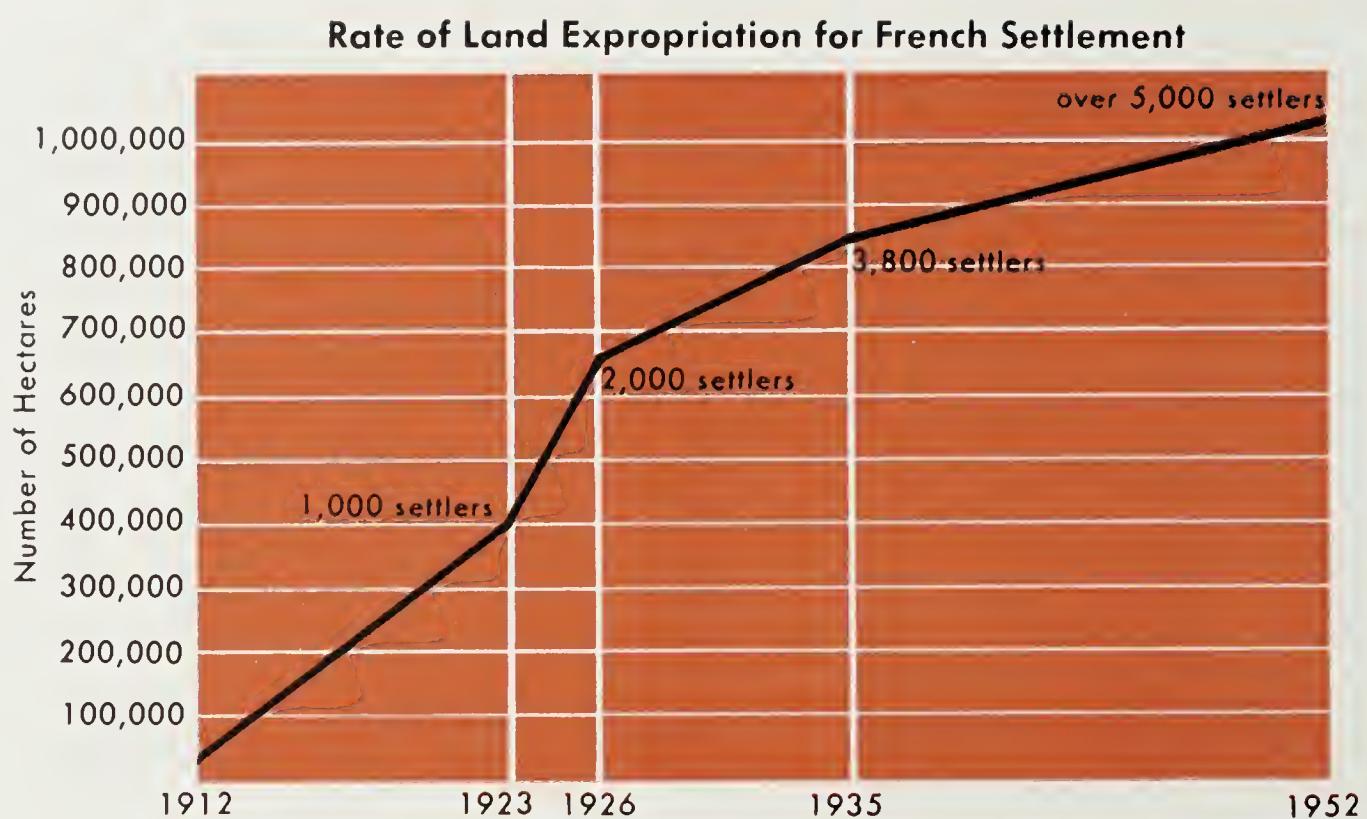
Moroccan Land Holding

European Land Holding

Average Land Holdings



-
7. Quoted in Doreen Warriner, *Land of Poverty in the Middle East*, Royal Institute of International Affairs, London and New York, 1948, p. 4.
 8. Lyautey, *Paroles d'Action*, op. cit. p. 395.



In addition to the forced sale of Moroccan holdings due to the impoverishment of indigenous landowners — during the famine of 1945 transfers were made at the rate of one quintal of wheat for two hectares of land — and through illegal requisition still occurring in some areas, a large number of Moroccan farmers have lost their land through the registration system of which the French Protectorate is so proud. In many instances Moroccan peasants have lost holdings, which had been cultivated by themselves and their forebearers without challenge for many years, because of ignorance of the registration procedure (the French Protectorate has done virtually nothing to eradicate illiteracy) or because of lack of funds to defend themselves in law suits.

The development of agriculture in Morocco has followed the classical lines of underdeveloped countries throughout the world. Low productivity on the land, extreme poverty accompanied by rapid transfers of land holdings from small indigenous farmers to large land concentrations owned by big landowners; in the other direction, an increased number of landless agricultural laborers and the growing fragmentation of peasant holdings into smaller and uneconomical lots. It is clear that any real program for economic development must be predicated upon improved agricultural conditions.

The fact that the French Protectorate has not only neglected to effect significant changes in this pattern of economic backwardness but on the contrary has instead fostered and abetted such economically restrictive developments furnishes a valuable insight into the reliability of the often professed assertion of the administration that it is exerting its efforts to modernize and develop the economy. Clearly the policies followed by the French which have left the Moroccan peasant for the most part as backward technically and worse off financially than he was before 1912 have not served to fulfill the French Government's pledge of reforms and economic development for Morocco made by it in the Treaty of Fez.



The KOUTOUBIA MOSQUE, Marrakesh, built in the 12th century by the Sultans of the Almohades dynasty.
In the background the Atlas Mountains.

6 / Industry

COMPREHENSIVE DISCUSSION in the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations and exhaustive analyses prepared by the United Nations Secretariat and other competent research bodies have clearly established the criteria for assessing the stages of economic development. The key economic benchmarks of under-developed countries are (1) the primacy of output of primary products, (2) a lack of secondary industry, (3) production essentially for export and (4) the development of a transport and communications system to service these industries.

The economic program of the French administration in Morocco has propelled that country along a path of economic activity which by now, has become the classical pattern for economically under-developed lands. As the statement by M. Labonne¹ indicates, no plans to reverse this policy in the future are under consideration.

Undoubtedly in recent years there has been an increase in industrial output in Morocco. This growth, however, has been at the expense of long range economic development and is shaping Morocco in the image of economically under-developed lands throughout the world. The main industrial emphasis by the French in Morocco has been upon mining and the transportation and communications network necessary to increase mineral output, bring it to the ports and ship it abroad. As a result of French-style economic development, Morocco is being drained of its natural resources while virtually all the benefits flow to French colonists and the economy of France.

Morocco contains the most extensive mineral resources in all North Africa. Its soil is rich and the country has the highest hydro-electric potential in the region. It is in this light that one must view the history of the past forty years of French control in Morocco and it is these facts which delineate in sharp detail the reasons for the events leading up to the forcible imposition of the Treaty of Fez. It was, in fact, the riches of Morocco which attracted the interest of the French and which was one of the factors leading to the extension of commercial rivalry with Germany to the battlefield. The period preceding the Treaty of Fez was a period of vigorous competition for the wealth of Morocco between the German firm of Mannesman Brothers on the one hand, and the French-controlled Moroccan Mining Union on the other.

Certainly, as we have seen, the development of mining, communications and commerce have not benefited the Moroccans who earn their livelihood from the land. Neither has it benefited the 100,000 Moroccans who work for extremely low wages in foreign owned industry in Morocco. It was in fact the confluence of rich natural resources and low cost labor which served to attract the French to North Africa. Absence of trade unions, and

1. "The plans for the modernization of North Africa for the period 1949-53 provide for no heavy or semi-heavy industrial production." Erik Labonne, Former French Resident-General, *Population*, 1949, No. 4, p. 763.

the location of many ore deposits in military zones plus the confusing variation in official minimum rates from zone to zone contribute to the depression of Moroccan wage rates. Thus, the average Moroccan miner receives approximately 38 French francs or 11 U. S. cents per hour, when he works. Consequently, mechanization of most mines has been retarded.

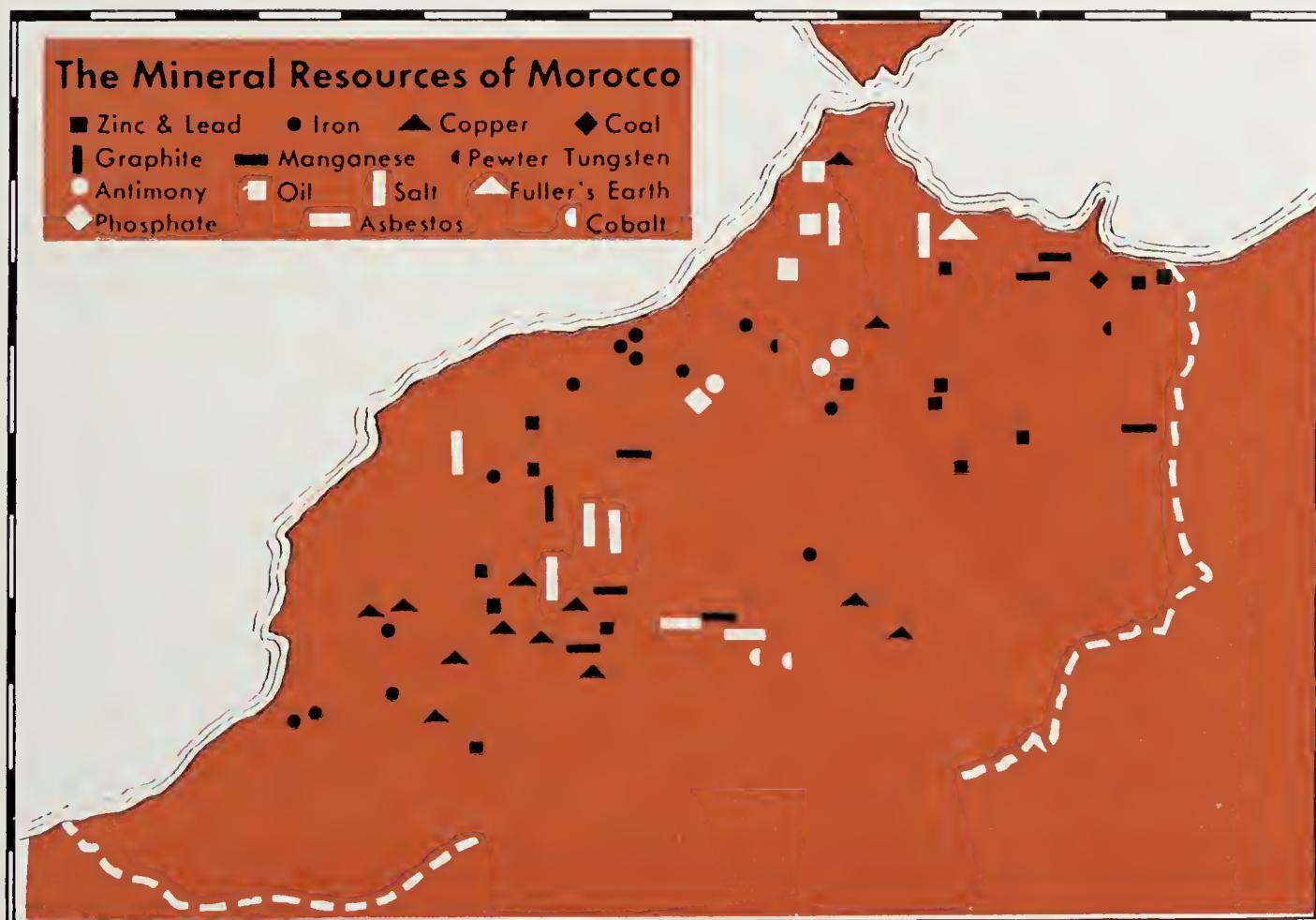
The newly constructed port facilities, railroad lines, and roads service the export trade — owned by French interests; telephones, postal-services, aviation, have been extended essentially to meet the needs of the large influx of French settlers into the cities of Morocco. The expansion of electric power and in large measure, the acquisition of industrial equipment has been directed to the mineral and other export industries — controlled by French interests. The function of Moroccan capital in these enterprises, as will be shown in detail below, has been for the most part to finance the unproductive early preparatory stages.

The output of Moroccan mines has expanded considerably in the post-war period. As Table XII shows, the index of mining has increased more than two and one-third times over the pre-war year, 1938. The largest expansions have taken place in the mining of phosphate, coal, lead, antimony, zinc, and manganese, an important alloying ingredient.

TABLE XII
INDEX OF PRODUCTION IN MINING INDUSTRY

	(1938 = 100)
1946	152
1949	221
1950	238

Source: *La Conjoncture Economique Marocaine*, 1950.



It is interesting to compare the expansion of over two and one-third times in the mining industry with the growth of agriculture. Production of food crops as was noted in an earlier section, grew by only 6½ compared with pre-war period.

The statistical data showing the production of individual minerals are presented in Table XIII. Here, again, the rapid growth of mining output in Morocco is shown in detail. Almost all of the products of Moroccan mines, however, were and are today, destined for foreign shores. The more than 50% of the coal which remains in Morocco is consumed in large measure by the export industry, and in the output of electric power and railroads which service this industry.

TABLE XIII
MOROCCAN MINING PRODUCTION & PERCENT EXPORTED
(1,000 METRIC TONS)

	1935	1938	1949	1950	% Exported 1950
Phosphatic Rock	1,152.0	1,487.0	3,626.0	4,032.0	100
Superphosphates	12.0	45.0	55.0
Salt	4.2	19.3	40.0	60.0	—
Manganese ore	7.4	30.0	98.1	115.2	100 ^a
Iron ore	—	131.0	161.0	146.0	100
Lead ore	.1	18.7	37.2	45.0	100
Zinc ore	—	2.8	2.8	10.6	68 ^b
Antimony ore	197.0	137.0	700.0	706.0	92
Silver ore (metal content) ^c	.1	7.8	22.9	34.1	...
Coal (anthracite)	53.0	141.0	341.0	368.0	40
Petroleum (crude)	.1	3.2	17.5	39.3	...

^a Exported in the form of sintered manganese.

^b Exports exceeded production by 70% in 1949, the excess apparently drawn from stocks. In 1950, the remaining 32% apparently went into commercial stocks.

^c Metric tons.

Note: ... Not available; — negligible.

Source: *La Conjoncture Economique Marocaine* 1950; *United Nations Statistical Yearbook*, 1951, and *Summary of Recent Economic Developments in Africa*, 1950-51.

The extraction of minerals for export contributes a relatively small share to national income retained within economically under-developed Morocco. At the same time the imports of foodstuffs and manufactured goods consume considerable proportions of the national income of Morocco.

One potentially serious consequence of this expansion of primary product output in Morocco — as it is in all under-developed lands — is that the current demand is based upon an abnormally high requirement created by the present world re-armament program. A significant reduction in these programs could well produce a serious crisis in the Moroccan industry. That this problem has arisen as a major consideration is amply shown by the often expressed "concern manifested by many under-developed countries as to the stability of the long-run demand for their raw material exports."²

2. United Nations, "Recent Changes in Production", supplement to the *World Economic Report*, 1950-51.

The control and ownership of Morocco's mining industry rests in foreign hands. With the single exception of the phosphate industry whose exploitation is directed by the Office Cherifien Phosphates, a Moroccan state monopoly, most mining enterprises are controlled by foreign investors — mainly French. The tax contribution of these companies to the Moroccan economy is negligible. Despite the fact that they earn enormous rates of profit and are removing from Morocco her wealth and source of strength, the mining companies' sole contribution to the finances of Morocco is a 5% ad valorem tax in exports.

In the Société Cherifien des Petroles, for example, the distribution of ownership in 1947 was:

Moroccan Government	— 33.41%
French Government	— 58.89%
Private Shareholders	— 7.70%

Thus in this key industry, as in so many others, complete control over operating policies is exercised by the French government. This, despite the fact that the petroleum of Morocco is a national resource vital to its industrial development.

The development of the coal mining industry in Morocco highlights in sharp detail the manner in which the recent growth of Moroccan mining has taken place. In 1947, the Société Cherifien des Charbonnages de Djerafa took over the exploitation of anthracite coal reserves in eastern Morocco. At that time the Moroccan and French Governments and foreign private capital each owned one-third of the shares of the company. During the next few years the Moroccan Government alone bore the cost of prospecting, making available the water necessary for cleaning the coal, constructing a fifty-kilometer railroad to connect the mining area with the rail network and other necessary costly preparatory work. By the end of 1951 the company, by virtue of these improvements, was able to increase its production to a level of 400,000 tons per annum with excellent prospects for future expansion.

French officials, acting as representatives of the Moroccan State, then proposed, together with other French officials representing the French Government, to increase the share of private (mainly French) capital. In direct contravention to the wishes of the true representatives of the Moroccan people and in violation of the specific reservations agreed to at the time the company was formed, these French officials waived the right of the Moroccan Government to subscribe to the additional shares to be issued. This additional stock issue of 522,000 shares was subscribed by private investors. As a result, the ownership of this basic industry was fraudulently transferred to private foreign capital working in collaboration with the French Government. The new stock distribution was changed as follows:

	Before 1952	(% of total)	1952
Moroccan State	33.33		25.25
French Government	33.33		25.25
Private Interests	33.33		49.50

Thus, after the Moroccan people had expended hundreds of millions of francs to develop this basic industry, the French administration assisted in the transfer of ownership to foreign private capital. Under the guise of reconstruction and under the facade of economic development the French Protectorate facilitates the transfer of key Moroccan industries to foreign private ownership.

Going beyond even this, the French Protectorate is attempting to arrogate to itself the power to grant prospecting rights and permits for mining concessions in Morocco. This attempt to seize direct and complete control from the Moroccan people has, of course, been resisted by His Majesty, the Sultan.

The artisans and craftsmen (leather goods, textiles, pottery, carpets, etc.) of Morocco had attained an international reputation for skill and artistry centuries before the French

intervention. Industry too had an early start, for as early as the twelfth century in Fez alone there were, according to one report, twelve iron and copper foundries, eleven glass works, 130 lime kilns, numerous soap works, oil presses, flour mills and 400 paper mills.

In 1947, there were approximately 160,000 craftsmen and apprentices working in the cities and towns of Morocco. This group, together with their dependents, comprise over one-third the urban population. Unlike the textile manufacturing industry, for example, which has been developed by French capital in competition with indigenous small producers, and which has been protected against foreign competition, the craftsmen of Morocco must shift for themselves. The feeble efforts of the French administration of opening a few "model" workshops, was less than ineffectual since for the most part antiquated techniques were used. No real effort, either technical or financial, has been made by the French administration to raise the technical level of output in small craft shops.

What solicitude has been expressed for the lot of the skilled artisans of Morocco, has been of a nominal character. The 1951 budget appropriated 106 million francs (\$302,000 U.S.) for arts and crafts social work. One-half this amount, however, was allocated for the construction of living quarters for the French officials who run the model workshops.

Some manufacturing such as fish canning, conserves, tobacco, wine and others, has been developed particularly in the post-war period. Fish canning alone has tripled since the pre-war period. For the most part, however, these industries have been developed for export purposes. The few which supply home demand have grown to meet the very rapidly expanding requirements of the new French immigrants.

As for basic industry, so vital for economic development and so necessary for raising the standard of living of the Moroccan population, the picture is indeed dismal and bleak. Other than a few mechanical repair shops for railroads, ships and vehicles, there have been no engineering industries organized in Morocco. No steel industry exists and none is proposed. French officials can point, after forty years of the Protectorate, to a pig iron output of 5,000 tons and aluminum smelting of 200 tons per annum.³ All of this, of course, is produced in small foundries for local repair needs. Thus, after forty years of the French Protectorate's economic development program Morocco, a country close to 9,000,000 people, with all the resources necessary for economic development produces coal and iron ore but has no steel industry.⁴ With all the raw materials and skilled craftsmen necessary for the engineering and mechanical industries, there are no engineering industries and instead these products must be imported — much of it from France. Textile⁵ manufacturing, traditionally one of the first industries to be developed, supplies the Moroccan with only a fraction of the quantity of textiles consumed by, for example, the average resident of under-developed India.

As we have seen in an earlier section the construction industries have fallen woefully behind the requirements of the Moroccan population. The seventy percent increase over pre-war in cement production has been used in the main to supply housing for the French immigrant or to build new commercial and industrial establishments.

It is interesting to note also that despite French claims of real progress in electric power output, in 1950, per caput consumption of energy in Morocco was lower than in either Algeria

3. *Morocco Today*, p. 88.

4. Other than a few small foundries which smelt small quantities of steel primarily for repair purposes.

5. The French economic policies in Morocco have retarded the development of textile output far behind a great number of under-developed countries who succeeded in building substantial textile industries during the war and post-war period. This industry has usually been one of the first to be organized in under-developed countries because of "the relative ease with which the textile industry can be developed. Compared with heavy industry, textiles require relatively little capital, labour is more easily trained and local availability of raw materials is less essential to economic production . . ." United Nations, *Recent Change in Production*, op. cit., page 47.



A typical BIDONVILLE scene.

or Tunisia.⁶ This despite the fact that Morocco contains by far the highest hydro-electric power potential in North Africa.

In substance, then, the economic development practices of the French administration in Morocco visualizes the economy of that country as an extension of and complement to the French economy. Its purpose is to make available to France Morocco's valuable agricultural and mineral raw materials and to make of Morocco a market for French manufactured goods. Its form is garbed in extravagant descriptions of industrial progress while in content this policy is shown to be economic reaction. Instead of leading Morocco toward economic development the French Protectorate by its policies retards the industrialization of Morocco.

6. United Nations Statistical Yearbook, 1951.

7 / Foreign Trade

ACCORDING TO THE ECONOMIC POLICIES of the French Protectorate, Moroccan agriculture and mineral production, on the one hand, are expanded in order to supply France with the raw material needs of her industries, while on the other hand, the absence of secondary industry in Morocco creates a void into which the surplus products of France can flow. The *Introduction to the Four Year Plan, 1949-52*, published by the French Administration in Morocco, states: "Morocco will take an active part in the recovery of France by . . . supplying manganese, cobalt and lead ore, canned goods and agricultural produce, to enable the French Union to subsist on its own resources as much as possible. . . . France will find in Morocco a market for the products of its recovering industries, particularly as regards textiles and the products of the steel industry."

Since 1912, France, through the manipulation of foreign trade, has used the Moroccan economy to satisfy the requirements of the French economy. In doing so, Moroccan requirements and the welfare of the Moroccan people have been ignored.

During the past decade total Moroccan foreign trade has increased from 3,700 million francs and 3.3 million tons in 1938 to 181,635 million francs consisting of 7.9 million tons in 1950 (much of this expansion in value, of course, was caused by the serious deterioration in the exchange value of the French franc). Yet, as we have seen in previous sections, there has been no accompanying rise in either the standard of living of the Moroccan people or in the development of secondary industry. On the contrary there appears to be an inverse relationship between the welfare of the Moroccan people and the trend in export of primary products. Actually, this phenomenon is not peculiar to Morocco, for it exists wherever colonial policies hold sway in under-developed countries. For, just as it is true that: "The high proportion engaged in agriculture in Africa provides an indication of the under-developed state of the region as a whole," so is it also true that: "The basic fact(s) behind the (sc) low levels of production and consumption" is the concentration "on the production of primary products for export."¹

The serious shortage of foreign exchange has affected French policy in Morocco during the post-war period. As a result a third criterion, that of providing this much needed *valuta* was added as a supplement to Morocco's more traditional functions of supplying raw materials and serving as a market for manufactured goods. This was expressly stated by the French Resident-General in his introduction to the four year plan ending in 1952 when he said that Moroccan economic objectives must be to obtain "fresh currencies by means of increased exports . . ." and to make "available to the French community foreign currency mainly by sales to Great Britain."²

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1. United Nations, *Review of Economic Conditions in Africa: 1949-50*.
 2. *Four Year Plan, 1949-1952*.

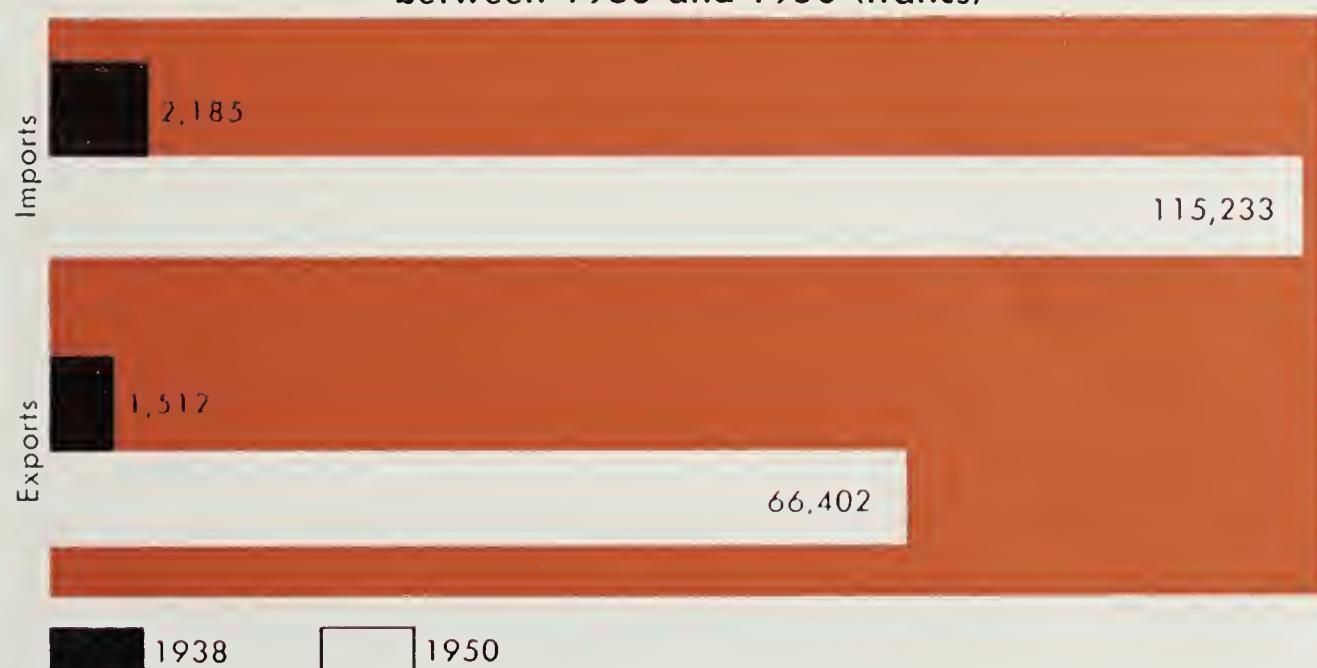
Table XIV clearly outlines the exactitude with which French policies have followed these dicta. Moroccan imports from France have expanded from a level of 733 million francs or 33.5% of total imports in 1938 to 69,902 million francs or 60.6% of total imports in 1950. Thus, has Morocco become a greater market for French goods. At the same time while exports to France grew from 677 million francs in 1938 to a level of 24,274 million francs in 1950 the proportion of total trade destined for French consumption declined from 44.7% to 36.5% during the same period. In other words, while supplying France with far greater quantities of needed raw materials, Morocco has also been able to earn for France considerable quantities of sterling, dollars and other foreign currencies.

TABLE XIV
DIRECTION OF MOROCCAN IMPORT & EXPORTS,
TOTAL AND CURRENCY REGIONS, 1938-50
(MILLIONS OF FRANCS)

Area	1938				1950			
	Imports Value	%	Exports Value	%	Imports Value	%	Exports Value	%
Franc (France)	770	35.2	907	60	78,463	68.1	30,876	46.5
	733	33.5	677	44.7	69,902	60.6	24,274	36.5
Dollar	397	18.2	31	2	20,191	17.5	1,393	2.1
Sterling	92	4.2	136	9	2,437	2.1	11,259	17.
Other	926	42.4	438	29	14,142	12.3	22,874	34.4
Total	1,415	64.8	605	40	36,770	31.9	35,526	53.5
Grand Total	2,185	100.	1,512	100	115,233	100.	66,402	100.

Source: *Annuaire Statistiques du Maroc*, 1938, 1950.

**Relative Increase of Moroccan Exports over Imports
between 1938 and 1950 (francs)**



Exports to other monetary areas expanded considerably in the post-war period. Increasing by almost 59 times in 1950 compared with pre-war, exports destined for dollar, sterling or other purchasers, rose from 40% of total exports in 1938 to almost 54% in 1950. In particular, as was predicted by the French Resident-General in Morocco, shipments to the sterling area grew rapidly, expanding about 83 times in that same period. All of the foreign exchange earned through this trade, of course, was and is used, to augment France's depleted coffers.

Morocco's trade balance with the rest of the world, with a net deficit of only \$3.6 million (U. S.), contrasts sharply with the trade deficit of 136.1 million (U. S.) resulting from trade with the franc area (\$130.5 for France alone). Thus, while Morocco traded on terms of near equality with the rest of the world, her trade debt to France reached unprecedented heights. Moroccan trade with France was responsible for over 95% of the unfavorable trade balance experienced in 1950.

The Moroccan net trade deficit has yet another facet to be examined. As is shown in Table XV while the cost per ton of Moroccan imports rose over 27 times in the period 1938-1950, the price received per ton of exports has risen only 18 times. This sharp deterioration in the terms of trade meant that the amount received per ton of export could only buy two-thirds as much imports in 1950 as could a 1938 ton of exports purchase in that pre-war year.

TABLE XV
AVERAGE PRICE OF MOROCCAN EXPORTS AND IMPORTS
TRADE DEFICIT AND PERCENT EXPORTS TO IMPORTS, 1938-1950

	Average Price per Ton Imports	Average Price per Ton Exports	Trade Deficit	Total Exports as % of Total Imports
		(FRANCS)	(MILLION FRANCS)	
1938	2,300	600	672	69
1939	2,700	600	478	79
1948	45,700	8,400	17,659	50
1949	59,700	9,900	49,805	52
1950	62,800	10,900	49,256	57

Source: *La Conjoncture Economique Marocaine*, 1950; *Annuaire Statistique de la Zone Française du Maroc*, 1949.

Average Price Differential of Moroccan Imports over Exports (francs)



While it may be true that part of this worsening in the terms of trade might well be due to changes in the relative composition of exports and imports a study of individual commodities corroborates the above conclusion.

TABLE XVI
MOROCCO, CHANGES IN AVERAGE PRICE PER TON OF SELECTED IMPORTED COMMODITIES
1938-1950
(FRANCS PER TON)

Commodity	1938 Average Total	1950 Average Total	% Increase	Imports from France*
Sugar	1,525	69,450	3965	82,350
Tea	12,970	404,150	3110	482,140
Gasoline	1,360	15,900	1140	15,340
Cotton Cloth	17,000	804,550	4730	875,750
Cement	191	5,700	3000	5,600
Motor Vehicles	13,700	332,380	2430

* The average price of imports from France was almost invariably higher than goods imported from other countries.

Source: *La Conjoncture Economique Marocaine*, 1950; United Nations Yearbook of International Trade Statistics, 1951.

As Tables XVI and XVII indicate the cost per ton of a group of the most important items of import (aggregating about 30% of total imports) rose on the average far more than did the price per ton of the leading items of export (aggregating about one-third of total exports). Sugar and cotton textiles, the two import commodities on which the largest expenditure of francs was made also registered by far the largest upsurge in cost per ton. On the other hand, while there were fairly substantial increases in the price received per ton for manganese and lead ore, the leading items of export i.e. phosphates, barley and citrus fruits increased relatively little in price.

TABLE XVII
MOROCCO, CHANGES IN AVERAGE PRICE PER TON OF SELECTED EXPORTED COMMODITIES
1938-1950
(FRANCS PER TON)

Commodity	1938	Average Price	% Increase
Calcium Phosphate	200	3,084	1540
Manganese Ore	290	8,985	3095
Lead Ore	1,200	38,930	3240
Barley	930	16,830	1800
Citrus Fruit	1,980	28,340	1430

Source: *La Conjoncture Economique Marocaine*, 1950; United Nations, Yearbook of International Trade Statistics, 1951.

Not only was Moroccan foreign trade organized to meet French economic objectives, it was also channelled through France, as shown by the large proportion of imports emanating from that country, despite the fact that prices had risen higher in France than in many

other major suppliers. This was particularly true in the case of sugar and cotton textiles imported from France which cost the Moroccan consumer almost one-fifth and one-tenth respectively, more than would have been paid if Moroccans were free to select suppliers on a sound economic basis. The amount which would have been saved in 1950 had these commodities been purchased outside of France would have reduced the Moroccan trade deficit by close to two billion francs, a sum one and one-half times the 1950 unfavorable trade balance with countries other than France. In some cases commodities are purchased in France which were manufactured in other countries, and Moroccans, as a result, are charged twice for handling, transportation and insurance.

In conducting Moroccan international trade in the manner of a colonial overseer, France has violated the international agreement made at the Algeciras Conference in 1906. At that time France along with other countries guaranteed for all the signatory powers an "open door" trade policy in Morocco. This, of course, is not French policy in Morocco for as has been demonstrated above the Moroccan economy is treated as a sector of the French economy with all of the trade and exchange controls and restrictions that this implies. Through her crass indifference to international agreements with regard to Morocco, France has also become involved in litigation with the United States before the World Court at the Hague.³

The policy of the French in Morocco has resulted in the anomalous situation of a country having to import much of its food at higher cost while it exports food and commercial crops, and to import metals while it ships abroad the requisite ores.

A large proportion of imports from France are supplied through the Marshall Plan agreement. While extensive credits for industrial and agricultural supplies were furnished by the United States to France without charge as part of the Economic Recovery Program, France forwards part of these supplies to Morocco — at a cost of 1.5% interest.

The analysis of French Protectorate policies with regard to the foreign trade of Morocco shows quite clearly that it is the interests of the French economy which is served and not the welfare or economic development of Morocco. The foreign trade pattern of Morocco is exactly the same as in the remainder of under-developed Africa where "exports consist almost entirely of primary products of mining and agriculture."⁴

If the French administration intended to fulfil its pledge made in 1912 its policies with regard to foreign trade in 1950 would utilize domestic raw materials for home manufacturing, and would increase food output while curtailing the need to import food and manufactured consumer goods. Where purchases on the international market are necessary (e.g. machine tools, industrial and agricultural machinery, etc.) the best price would be sought regardless of source and sales to foreign countries would also be made to obtain the best price or reciprocal trade arrangement without limitation. If the French administration were really interested in the welfare of the Moroccan economy a Moroccan currency would be re-established to make its own way on the international exchange without being fettered by ties to the extremely unstable French franc. The fact that France has followed a policy diametrically opposed to this indicates that it is the economic development of France and not of Morocco which guides the Protectorate.

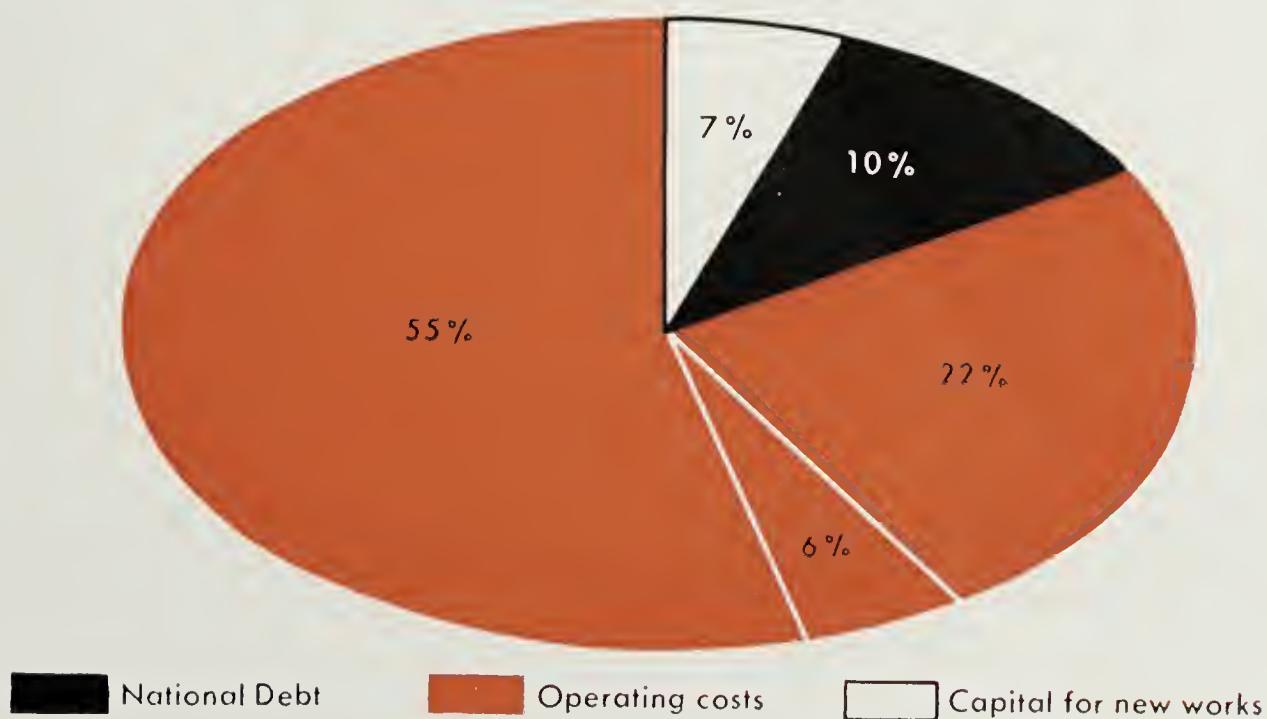
3. For further details see International Court of Justice, Case Concerning the Rights of Nationals of the United States of America in Morocco, August 27, 1952.

4. United Nations, Review of Economic Conditions in Africa, 1949-50.

8 / Finance and Budget

SUPERIMPOSED UPON THE BURDEN of economic want under which the ordinary Moroccan labors, the French administration has added the dead weight of a fast growing bureaucracy and a regressive tax structure. The one devours the public revenues and the other obtains these funds mainly from those least able to pay — the Moroccan peasant and laborer. At the same time, increasing amounts are expended upon public works in the form of roads, communication, ports and other services primarily for the benefit of the mineral and export industries and the French colonists. Between 1938 and 1951 the Ordinary and Extraordinary budgets of Morocco have risen over 41 times, having grown during that period from 1.6 billion francs to 66.2 billion francs.

Although the Moroccan budget provides for the financial needs of the Moroccan state it is prepared by the French Resident-General and submitted to the French Government for approval. When this has been completed the document is presented as a fait accompli to His Majesty the Sultan for his signature. Moroccans thus have no opportunity to influence the expenditure of the thousands of millions of francs which they contribute through taxation. In the United States the complaint "taxation without representation" was one of the most serious charges made by the people when they sought independence in 1776. In Morocco, one hundred and seventy-six years later, this elementary right is still being violated by the French Protectorate and the Moroccan people also ask: why taxation without representation?



Less than three percent of the budgetary funds expended in 1951 was used for the operation of purely Moroccan representative government whereas twenty-one percent or eight times as much was spent on the administration of the offices of the French Resident-General (Table XVIII). An additional thirty-nine percent went for "economic services," a somewhat euphemistic term describing the economic assistance rendered in the name of the Moroccan Government to the foreign controlled private mining monopolies and trading companies operating in Morocco.

TABLE XVIII
EXPENDITURES, MOROCCAN BUDGET 1938-1950
(MILLIONS OF FRANCS)

	1938	1951	%
Debt Service	338	3,920	10
National Government	36	969	3
French Administration	224	7,860	21
Economic Services	366	14,870	39
Finance	(107)	(6,280)	
Public Works	(108)	(3,351)	
Postal, Telephone & Telegraph	(83)	(2,772)	
Agriculture,			
Commerce, Forests	(68)	(2,467)	
Social Services	138	7,527	20
Miscellaneous	427	2,750	7
Total, Ordinary Budget	1,529	37,896	
Total Extraordinary	34	28,294	
Grand Total	1,563	66,190	100

Source: *Budgets Ordinaires du Maroc, 1938-1952 (Bulletins Officiels)*.

Expressed in another way, expenditures under the ordinary budget if 1951 were distributed as follows:

TABLE XIX
DISTRIBUTION OF EXPENDITURES
MOROCCAN ORDINARY BUDGET 1951

	%
Service on National Debt	10
Operating Costs	83
Personnel	55
Supplies	22
Maintenance	6
Capital Expenditure for New Works	7
	100

Source: *Report of the Director of Finance on Draft Budget for Financial Year 1952*.

To subsidize the transport, communications and port requirements of the French foreign trade and mining interests, the Moroccan people have already been saddled with a debt the annual service on which consumes 10% of the yearly budget. In France, on the other hand, the annual debt service accounts for less than 5% of the yearly national budget despite the fact that for the last six years the budgetary deficit in France has steadily grown, spurring from 278 billion francs in 1946 to 740 billion francs in 1951.¹ The great bulk of the Moroccan debt is, of course, held by French interests. The importance which the French Government places upon this form of investment is perhaps best illustrated by Articles 7 and 8 of the Treaty of Fez which provide for full control of the Moroccan public debt by the Protectorate.

Over 80% of the ordinary budget of Morocco is expended on operating costs. By far the largest single factor is the growth of personnel costs, which in 1951 aggregated over 55% of all the funds expended from the ordinary budget in that year by the French Protectorate in Morocco. Between 1949 and 1951 the expenditures on the bureaucracy created by the French administration in Morocco jumped from 506 million to 19.4 billion francs. This represents an increase of 39 times as compared with the relatively smaller rise of 23 times in the total ordinary budget. Personnel costs have thus risen almost twice as fast as the general ascension of budgetary costs in Morocco.

While nearly one-half of the persons whose wages are paid out of the general budget are Moroccans, these employees are generally relegated to the lowest ranking posts in the hierarchy. As is indicated below nearly 72% of all Moroccan civil employees of the Protectorate are in the lowest grade while only two and one half percent of the French civil servants are in that category.

	Foreigners			% Moroccan
	French	Others	Moroccan	Total
Higher Grades	3,831	6	382	4,219
Main Grades (& Contract work)	6,420	12	1,267	7,699
Secondary Grades	10,433	42	4,085	14,560
Lower Grades	523	33	14,416	14,972
Total	21,207	93	20,150	41,450

Over 96% of the lowest paid workers in the Moroccan civil service are Moroccans, whereas over 90% of the officials in the highest grades are French. After forty years of the French Protectorate Moroccans are still relegated to perform the menial tasks while virtually all of the important policy making and supervisory posts are occupied by Frenchmen. The few Moroccans who occupy higher positions in the French administrative scheme in Morocco are mainly favorites of the Protectorate who are in this manner rewarded for their sycophancy.

Distribution of Grades among Moroccans and French Civil Servants

LOWER GRADES



HIGHER GRADES



1. United Nations, *Statistical Yearbook*, 1951.

Apparently the French Protectorate in Morocco still feels that the "pacification" program has not been completed, for between 1938 and 1950 the numbers of the Interior Auxiliary forces and the Public Security and Constabulary increased from 5,153 in the earlier year to 14,219 in the latter year. These forces accounted for almost 35% of the total number of persons employed by the Protectorate in 1950. The cost of maintaining these police forces amounted to 15% of the total operating expenses in the Moroccan budget. At the same time the number of persons employed in the Sherifian or Moroccan National Government rose from 483 to 728. In 1950 there were only one-seventh as many employees in the entire public health service of Morocco as there were members of the police forces.

All analysis of capital expenditures made during 1951 under the general budget and the French modernization and equipment fund shows that the Protectorate follows the same pattern of approach to Moroccan economic and social problems in this field as it had in all spheres of activity. Table XX presents a listing of these expenditures during 1951. It should be noted that only 1.3% of the total was allocated to the Moroccan National Government while 7.5% went to French administrative projects. Most of this latter item was concerned with housing facilities for the French officials. The great bulk of all capital outlays, 72%, went for economic programs while the remainder of the capital budget was directed toward the development of social work.

The largest single group of expenditures constituting 15.5 billion francs or over 55% of the total, went to public work programs. These projects, however, while potentially of great value to the Moroccan economy now are of value only to the mining and export industries. As has been demonstrated in previous sections of this report the construction of roads, ports, railways, aviation, electric power and other similar programs, in the present stage of economic development in Morocco and in the context of French economic policies, are serving the needs principally of the French urban resident and producers and exporters of primary products. It is significant that less than one-third of one percent of the total capital outlay went for industrial production and only one-tenth of one percent was directed toward the improvement of Moroccan arts and crafts.



FEZ, the intellectual and religious capital of the Sherifian Empire.

TABLE XX

MOROCCAN CAPITAL EXPENDITURE BUDGET, 1951
(GENERAL BUDGET AND MODERNIZATION AND EQUIPMENT FUND)
(MILLIONS OF FRANCS)

Administration — Capital outlay	2,559.2
National Government	371.9
French Administration	2,187.3
a. Resident-General, Police, Justice	756.9
b. Other services	
(Building & Housing of Personnel)	1,430.4
Economic — Capital Outlay	20,143.0
A. Financial Services	634.0
B. Public Works	15,455.0
1. Roads	1,235.0
2. Ports	1,908.0
3. Railways	1,620.0
4. Civil Aviation	165.0
5. Hydraulics	4,716.0
6. Electricity	5,436.0
7. Heavy Material	175.0
8. Defense Projects	200.0
C. Postal, Tel. & Tel.	1,827.0
D. Moroccan Arts & Crafts	30.0
E. Agriculture & Pastoral	2,120.0
F. Industrial Production and Mines	77.0
Social — Capital Outlay	5,360.0
A. Education	2,560.0
1. European	940.0
2. Moroccan	1,430.0
3. Mixed	192.0
B. Public Health	1,465.0
C. Other	1,333.0
GRAND TOTAL	28,062.2

Source: 1951 General Budget and official documents attached thereto.

The tax structure created by the Protectorate is as harsh for the bulk of the Moroccan people as it is easy for foreign settlers, and the private interests controlling the output and export of primary products. Two-thirds of the total monies raised in 1951 in Morocco were obtained either through the land tax (*tertib*) or through indirect taxes both of which impose the heaviest burden upon those least able to pay — the Moroccan people. On the other hand, less than three percent of total revenues were derived from income taxes, which are best geared to tax according to ability to pay. As Table XXI shows, only 21% of all revenues were raised through direct taxation.

TABLE XXI
MOROCCAN BUDGET RECEIPTS, 1938, 1950, 1951
(MILLIONS OF FRANCS)

Receipts	1938	%	1950	%	1951	%
Direct Taxes	190	17.4	7,818.0	23.4	8,010.5	21.2
Indirect Taxes	604	55.3	19,971.0	59.9	21,970.0	58.1
Non-fiscal receipts ^a	299	27.3	5,556.7	16.7	7,804.6	20.7
Total	1,093	100.	33,345.7	100.	37,785.1	100.

^a Revenue from public domain, postal telegraph and telephone revenues, payments by the Office des Phosphates, States' share in profits of the railway company and others.

Source: Computed on basis of data in *Budget de L'Exercice*, 1951.

The *tertib* or land tax (on crops, trees, animals) accounts for almost 10% of total revenues. When all the rebates, which are received by European landholders are taken into account the direct contribution made by Moroccan agriculturalists and pastoralists aggregates 9/10 of the total land tax. When all of these rebates and refunds are taken into account the land tax rate differential between Moroccan and European shows a discrimination in treatment as follows:²

	(AVERAGE RATE PER HECTARE)	
	Moroccans	Europeans
1949	541 francs	402 francs
1948	652 francs	553 francs

When feudalism held sway in France, as in other European countries the corvée or forced labor duty was among the most hated of feudal dues. Under a different title the "prestation" or four day fatigue duty plays the same role in Morocco today. While Europeans may buy their way out of this duty the overwhelming majority of Moroccans are forced each year to labor on the roads. This form of tax is thus borne almost exclusively by the Moroccan people.

By far the most insidious and far reaching tax assessment method, the indirect taxes on consumer goods places the main burden directly on the Moroccan population. Over 53% of the total value of imports is made up of consumer goods; principally sugar, tea and textiles. These are taxed as they enter the country, whereas many industrial raw materials and other producer goods are exempt from this duty. The tax on imported consumer goods is inflationary. It raises still further the cost of goods whose price has already been inflated by the addition of overseas transportation insurance and other surcharges. The import tax or extra charge is paid by the overwhelming mass of the Moroccan people regardless of income level. The import duty is thus regressive taxation in its worst form and yet in Morocco almost 30% of all tax revenues were raised by this method alone during 1951. A similar form of regressive taxation is found in the tax on consumption; particularly on sugar and sweets. In 1951 two and one-half billion francs were raised in this manner and an additional revenue of 3.9 billion francs from the tobacco tax.

Few of the taxes which are found in the more advanced countries of the world are utilized in Morocco. Commercial, industrial, mining and export interests are relatively untouched despite the fact that they benefit most from budgetary disbursements. The main

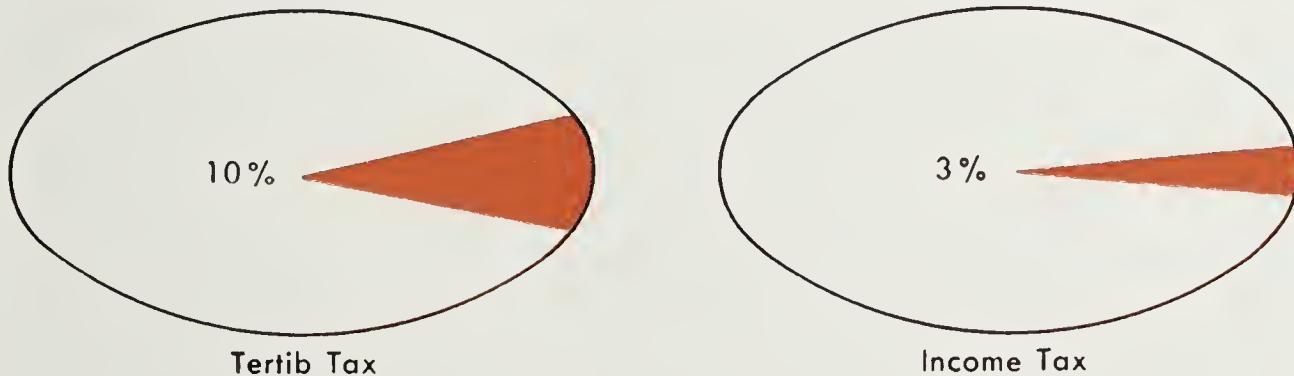
2. Calculated from data in *Annuaire Statistique*, 1949.

burden is instead placed upon the average Moroccan who receives the fewest advantages from Government expenditures. As a rough indication of the relative positions of these two groups it is estimated that while 75-85% of all tax receipts are contributed directly or indirectly by Moroccans, from 70-80% of all budgetary disbursements either directly or indirectly are for the benefit of the non-Moroccan private interests.

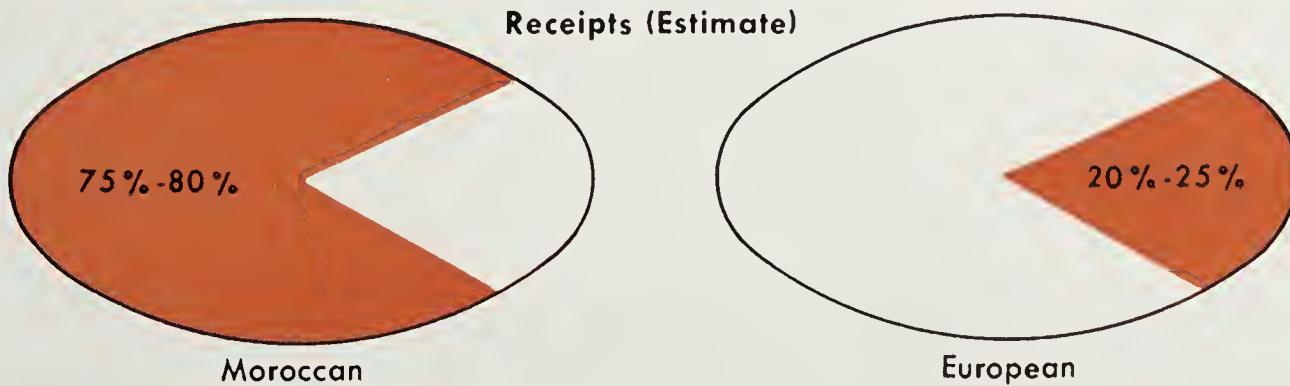
It is quite clear that the present regressive tax structure in Morocco contributes to the lowering of the standard of living of the Moroccan people. On the other hand, it does not adequately provide for the retention within Morocco of capital earned by the mining and export industries. As one direct consequence of this, capital formation is retarded, and capital for investment in secondary industry is not available internally. Funds for investment purposes in Morocco continues to be foreign capital which in turn flows mainly to primary product output and export industries. None of these tendencies is conducive to the improvement of the economic welfare of Morocco; all retard the economic development of Morocco.

The Discriminatory Tax Burden in Morocco

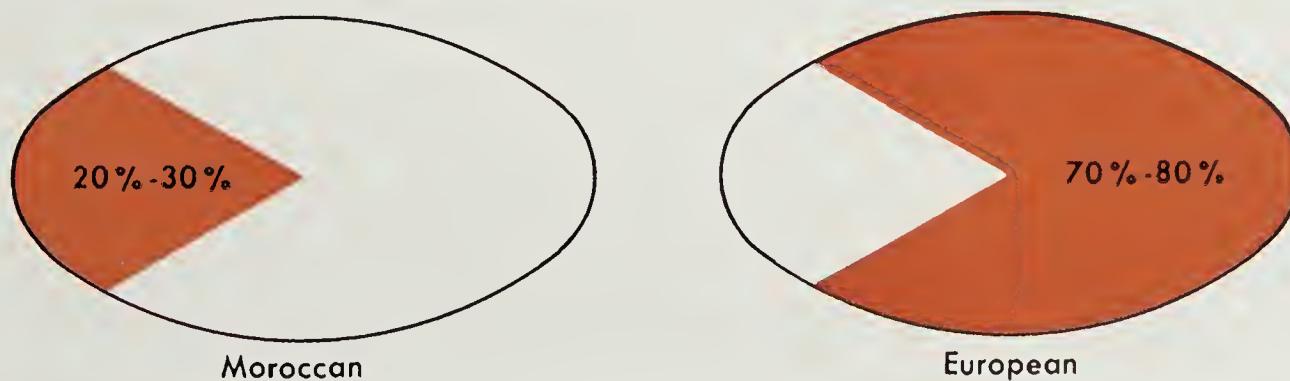
a) Relative Contribution of Tertib Tax and Income Tax to total Budget Receipts



b) Relative Contribution of Moroccans and Europeans to Direct and Indirect Tax Receipts (Estimate)



c) Beneficiaries of Budgetary Disbursements, Direct and Indirect



9 / Education

AFTER FORTY YEARS of French "enlightened" cultural leadership we find that while 94% of all European children residing in Morocco attended public schools in 1950, 94% of the close to 2.0 million Moslem Moroccan children of school age were not able to enjoy this privilege (see Table XXII). Fewer than three Moslem girls out of 100 went to school whereas 89 out of every 100 European girls received a public education in 1950. These figures, taken from official French Protectorate sources, reveal the extremes to which discrimination in education has deprived Moslem children of the same right to learn as that exercised by virtually all European children in Morocco. This policy of the Protectorate is deliberate and

TABLE XXII
MOSLEM MOROCCAN & EUROPEAN CHILDREN OF SCHOOL AGE ATTENDING SCHOOL
(NUMBER)

	Moslem			European		
	School Age Population	Children in School	%	School Age Population	Children in School	%
Boys	990,000	93,941	9.4	33,900	33,732	99.8
Girls	950,000	23,582	2.5	32,800	29,112	88.7
Total	1,940,000	117,523	6	66,700	62,844	94.2

Source: School Age Population estimated from data in *Denombrement General du Population, 1947.*
Children in School:—*Conjoncture Economique Marocaine 1950.*



has as its purpose the maintenance of mass illiteracy so as to insure a population without intellectual leadership and with a lowered capacity to press for economic and political independence. That they have failed by this means to attain the docile collaboration of the mass of the Moroccan population has, of course, become most apparent in recent months.

The discrepancy in the educational advantages enjoyed by Moslem and European children is further manifested by the shocking differential in funds expended by the Protectorate on the instruction of these children. During 1951, 1.92 billion francs were appropriated in the ordinary budget for the education of Moslem children and 2.29 billions for European students. This means that while 32,000 francs were to be spent on the education of each European student only 16,000 francs per student, or half as much was allocated for Moroccan children.¹

Relative Budgetary Outlay per European and Moslem Student



In the appropriation for new construction and equipment for 1951 the budget provided 1.42 billion francs for capital outlays on Moslem education and 1.15 billions for European educational facilities. When considered on the basis of school age population eligible to use these facilities, 17,270 francs were appropriated per European school-age child whereas only 731 francs were made available for the education of Moslem children. Thus, the European children were allotted 23 times as many francs per head for capital construction than were appropriated for Moslem children. In this manner, the discrimination in educational opportunity is intensified since the gap between the two groups in terms of new or improved facilities appears to be widening at an even faster rate than is the hiatus with regard to personnel and material noted previously. At this rate, the Moslem Moroccan child appears to be losing out in the quest for equal education at a faster rate each year the Protectorate continues. When one considers that virtually all of the funds from the ordinary and a large segment of the extraordinary budgets are contributed by Moroccans, the unfair discrimination in the educational advantages of Moslem youngsters seems all the more incredible.

In all of Morocco one cannot receive a university degree since these are granted by the faculty of Bordeaux. Thus, Moroccans, fortunate enough to receive a secondary education must leave the country in order to complete their studies.

French is the required language in the schools of the Department of Public Education, and French programs of instruction are followed. The great majority of all teachers, or approximately three-quarters of the total, are French, while only one-quarter are Moroccan.

1. Computed from data in *Detailed Budget of the Department of Public Education*.



An INDEPENDENT MOROCCAN SCHOOL, built and maintained by the people of Morocco with private funds raised voluntarily.

Even in schools devoted to Moslem education only two-fifths of the teachers are Moroccan and three-fifths are French. There are only 63 female Moroccan teachers in the entire instructional system coming under the jurisdiction of the Department of Public Education, and none of these are in the field of higher education. (see Table XXIII)

TABLE XXIII
TEACHING PERSONNEL IN MOROCCAN SCHOOLS

	French		Moroccan		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Higher Education	30	10	7	0	47
European Education	1,061	1,359	33	1	2454
Moslem Education	949	1,067	1,454	62	3532
Total	2,040	2,436	1,496	63	6033

Source: *Detailed Budget of the Department of Public Education 1949/50; Report to the Government Council, December 1950.*

The preponderance of French teachers in the public educational system is in part a direct consequence of the fact that after forty years of the French Protectorate there is not one school for the training of primary school teachers in all of Morocco. At Rabat there is a fourth professional year at which holders of the French Baccalaureat receive some teacher training. Since the number of Moroccans privileged enough to hold such degrees is still negligible, these teachers-in-training are, in the main, French. In 1950 only one of these students was a Moroccan.

Faced with the French Protectorate's neglect in educational affairs the Moroccan people are making a tremendous effort to provide private schooling facilities for as great a number of Moroccan children as possible. The number of students attending such schools has reached 250,000. These institutions, however, have been harassed by the French administration, with the freedom to select the curriculum and action of the teaching staff stringently circumscribed.

Despite the systematic assault by the French Protectorate some progress has been made toward the preservation of Moroccan culture by the private schools. As indicated above, Arabic is taught and students also learn French at an early age. Although most of the funds for these schools were raised by voluntary contributions — starting in 1950 a small contribution was made from the Moroccan budget for the operation of private schools — the French interfere in the internal affairs of the schools and attempt, by intimidating the staff, to restrict their activities. In 1951, for example, ten schools were arbitrarily shut down at Bou Arfa, three schools at Chtouka, and so on. Twenty-five school principals were dismissed or jailed while teachers, students and parents were intimidated and harassed.

After forty years of the French Protectorate little headway has been made against illiteracy, and discrimination in educational opportunity is heavily weighted in favor of the European settler. These past forty years have also witnessed a systematic attempt to substitute French for Moroccan culture in the schools of Morocco.

10 / Health

IT IS DIFFICULT TO PRESENT an accurate statistical picture of the health of the people of Morocco, although if one were to inspect the rural areas, the "bidonvilles", and the Medina's of the large cities, the statistics would be unnecessary. Hunger, indescribable housing conditions, lack of sanitary facilities and other social factors, have performed their debilitating mission on the health of the Moroccan people.

As in all other aspects of Moroccan life, the lot of the French and other European settlers in their comfortable homes and with their adequate diets, is far superior to that of his adopted countryman — the Moroccan. In fact, so good has the life of the European in Morocco been made through the labor of the Moroccan people, that health conditions for this favored group are more salubrious than that of their kin in France. (Table XXIV).

TABLE XXIV
COMPARATIVE HEALTH DATA, FRENCH SETTLERS IN MOROCCO
AND INHABITANTS OF FRANCE. (1949)

	French in Morocco	France
Live births (per ten thousand inhab.)	259	204
Deaths (per ten thousand inhab.)	68	135
Infant Mortality (per 1,000 live births)	48	59

Source: *Annuaire Statistique*, 1947.

But what of the Moroccan worker or family? The French are fond of quoting innumerable statistics on the increase in the number of consultations per year, injections for various diseases, number of days in hospital, etc. They are strangely silent, however, with regard to the really significant health data concerning Moroccans in rural as well as urban areas, such as infant mortality rate, trends in tuberculosis, extent of malnutrition, life expectancy rate, and so forth.

There were in 1950, 6,984 hospital beds in Morocco¹ and of this total approximately one-third were reserved for Europeans. (The United Nations in its report on available Moroccan hospital beds also makes reference to 900 mats.² It is safe to assume that all of these are reserved for Moroccans only). This rate of one bed for 1,720 Moroccans compared with one

1. *Morocco Today*, op. cit.

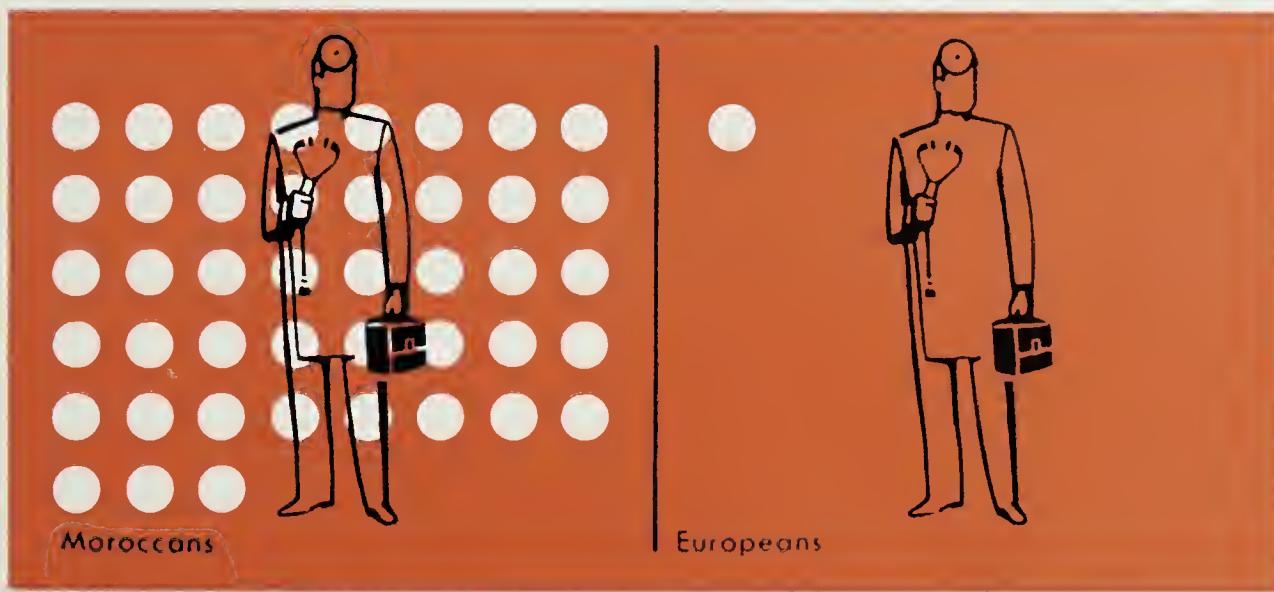
2. *United Nations, Statistical Yearbook*, 1951.

Ratio of Available Hospital Accommodations for Moroccans and Europeans



per 215 Europeans, differs in only slight detail from the picture painted in 1948 by M. Pierre Parent, former deputy of the French settlers in Morocco.³ In France, by comparison, there was in 1948 an average of one bed per 184 inhabitants.⁴ By either standard, i.e. comparison with the beds available to the French in Morocco or to the inhabitants of France, the average Moroccan has far fewer hospital facilities available to him.

Ratio of Physicians per Moroccan and European Inhabitants



United Nations statistical reports show that the average relationship in Morocco of physician per inhabitant (Moroccan and European) is one physician to 14,000 people.⁵ Here again, however, the average conceals two widely divergent sets of statistics. There were a total of 185 public health physicians available to minister to the needs of the Moroccan popu-

3. P. Parent, Morocco, Rabat 1948 — one per 2150 Moroccans and one per 185 Europeans.

4. United Nations, *Statistical Yearbook*, op. cit.

5. *Ibid.*

lation in 1949.⁶ Thus, there was an average of only one physician per 43,240 Moroccans, and in some areas this undoubtedly rose much above this rate. On the other hand, there were in 1949, 436 physicians operating as private medical practitioners in the large cities⁷ who were available primarily to the European colony. The ratio of physicians to non-Moroccans then, was roughly 1 per 1,100 Europeans. Compare these data also with the ratio of one physician per 1300 inhabitants of France. Certainly, with such a wide disparity in medical care the health of Moroccans cannot have been protected to any significant extent by assistance from the French Protectorate.

In all of Morocco one cannot find a medical school. In all of Morocco there are barely ten Moroccan physicians, graduates of French medical schools. There is only one school in Morocco which trains fully qualified nurses. This is located in Casablanca and caters almost exclusively to French students. In all of Morocco also, one cannot find a private medical clinic operated by Moroccans.

Official French publications continuously speak of the very large number of people treated at public health centers. The small number of these centers and the great crowds of patients seeking medical care, however, make for inefficient and superficial attention. The director of the Public Health Department, Dr. Sicault, aptly described the situation when he said: "The inflow of patients to our hospitals, our dispensaries and our infirmaries, has often forced our doctors to practice medicine by distributing their efforts and care among those present."⁸

The few death rate figures and infant mortality data available are consistent with the data presented throughout the report, which reveal the shocking differences between the conditions of the European colonists in Morocco and the indigenous population. In 1948, the following mortality rates were released by the French administration in Morocco:

	<i>Europeans</i>	<i>Moroccans</i>
Death Rate	8.52 per 1,000 pop.	15.08
Infant Mortality	84.1 per 1,000 pop.	283.60

These data are for the 19 towns reporting and the average for the Moroccan on the country-side undoubtedly was far worse than that of his city brother. In the face of these data one can only conclude that in medical attention, as in virtually all other aspects of life, the Moroccan is sorely discriminated against.

6. *Ibid.* For all practical purposes the private physicians in the cities were not available to any but a very few Moroccans.

7. *Annuaire Statistique, 1949.*

8. *France d'Outre-Mer*, special issue of the magazine on Morocco.

11 / Human Rights

DESPITE THE FACT THAT FRANCE has officially subscribed to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Protectorate administration in Morocco pursues a discriminatory policy towards Moroccans, denying them basic human and civil rights. In reality, where rights are concerned, a double standard exists in Morocco. While the French administration guarantees and respects the rights and liberties of the non-Moroccan minority, these are denied to the Moroccan people.

Any consideration of human and civil rights in Morocco must first point out that since the imposition of the Protectorate, Morocco has constantly been under an official state of siege, with all the restrictions upon freedom that this state connotes. The suppression of human and civil rights in Morocco is consequently not an extraordinary measure brought on as a matter of temporary expediency by an unusual set of circumstances. Rather, it is the normal state of affairs under the French Protectorate. The state of siege has served as the convenient legal instrument for denying to the Moroccan people human and civil rights. Since early in December 1952, the Moroccan people have suffered under the severest application of the state of siege ever to be imposed upon them by the Protectorate Administration. Thousands of them have been denied even their most elemental rights and have suffered untold cruelty and misery under this latest reign of terror.¹

It is impossible to give a full and detailed account of the suppression of these rights by the French administration, as the record would fill many volumes. However, a true picture of conditions can be readily obtained from the following examples which eloquently illustrate the Protectorate policy.

Freedom of Association. The French administration pretends that legislation in force in Morocco regarding freedom of association is nothing more than an adaptation of the French law of July 1, 1901. Nothing could be further from the truth. Unlike the French law, the legislation in force in Morocco prescribes that no association could be formed without prior authorization of French control authorities. Furthermore this authorization is always revocable. Any organization that is formed without authorization is dissolved and its leaders are liable to fine and imprisonment. It is not necessary for the Protectorate

1. The official pretext for this wave of repression were the disorders that occurred in Casablanca on December 7-8, 1952 on the occasion of a Moroccan workers' manifestation of sympathy for the assassinated Tunisian patriot and labor leader Ferhat Hached. Reports from impartial observers have testified to the fact that the incidents were provoked. The purpose of this provocation was to provide a pretext for the suppression of the nationalist movement and its leaders, and to embarrass the Moroccan cause just at the time that the question was being considered by the United Nations General Assembly. See *Morocco News Bulletin* published weekly by the Moroccan Office of Information and Documentation. Particularly see issue No. 10 for the account of the events as reported in *Témoignage Chrétien*, and issue No. 13 for a statement by Nobel Prize winner François Mauriac.

administration to give its reasons for denying the right to form an association. Frequently, the denial comes in the form of a provisional order that stays in force indefinitely. When authorization is finally given for the formation of an association, the French administration reserves the right to intervene in the affairs of the body by imposing changes in its leadership and its rules.

The Protectorate administration has applied these restrictive powers most stringently. All sorts of organizations, running the gamut from student associations to political parties,



POLICE STATE METHODS of the Protectorate police. The round-up of Moroccan labor leaders, December 9, 1952.

from athletic clubs to labor unions, have been suppressed. Even the development of a Moroccan Boy Scout movement has been denied legal sanction. This action concerning the Boy Scouts is clearly indicative of the discriminatory character of the French policy, for while Moroccans are denied the right to form a Boy Scout movement, the French population boasts three Boy Scout Organizations: *Les Eclaireurs de France Laics*, *Les Scouts de France Catholiques*, *Les Eclaireurs Unionistes Protestants*.

The main brunt of this policy of denying to Moroccans freedom of association has been felt in the field of labor and political organization. Moroccan political parties have never received legal recognition. But this has not deterred the Moroccan people from asserting their right to organize politically. However, the oppressive French policy has necessitated that all native Moroccan political parties be organized and that their activities be carried out clandestinely, under the constant threat of official repression. While French oppression and surveillance has not succeeded in preventing natives from organizing political parties, it has filled the jails with thousands of Moroccan patriots whose sole crime has been to dare to undertake political activity. The number of persons imprisoned, interned or exiled during the current wave of terror has reached the unbelievable figure of 16,000.

In the field of labor, present regulations categorically deny to Moroccan workers the right to organize trade unions. Only European residents of Morocco have the right to establish unions, which tolerate only a few Moroccan members. Since prevailing economic and social conditions, discussed earlier, dictate the absolute necessity of trade unions, the Moroccan worker has not abdicated his right to form trade unions even in the face of the opposition of the Protectorate administration. Many Moroccan workers have been secretly organized into trade unions. However, the clandestine character of the unions has not permitted the freedom of action necessary to permit them to represent properly the interests of the workers. Although there is a crying need for free Moroccan trade unions, French authorities, with the interests of French employers uppermost in their minds, are determined to stifle the growth of such a free Moroccan trade movement. Even under the guise of reform, the French propose a continuation of the present policy. In a reform of the present regulations sponsored by the administration, the French have agreed to permit greater Moroccan membership in certain trade unions, provided Moroccans do not occupy more than 50% of the union's governing body. The remaining 50% of the seats must be reserved for the French. Furthermore, the right to join these unions is to be denied to agricultural workers who represent 75% of the total Moroccan working force.

Freedom of Assembly. Freedom of assembly and the right to hold public demonstrations are both prohibited in accordance with the state of siege prevalent in Morocco. The most recent affirmation of this policy, which was introduced by military order at the outset of the Protectorate, is to be found in the order of April 19, 1947, which states:

“No public or private meetings may be held without prior authorization of the Military Authorities, acting upon the advice of the local civilian authority. A request for authorization must bear the signature of two persons living in the locality of where the meeting is to take place and must be handed in 48 hours prior to the meeting. Only French citizens can speak at public or private meetings and French is the only language to be used. Access to the meetings may be forbidden to Moroccans.”

Infraction of this order carries with it the usual punishment for violation of any military order, imprisonment from 1 to 5 years and a heavy fine. It should be noted that in practice, the required authorizations is always granted to Frenchmen and invariably denied to Moroccans.

Freedom of Press. For many years a strict censorship existed in Morocco. It was not unusual to see Moroccan newspapers appear with blank columns and even blank pages that had been deleted by the censor. In December 1951, after repeated promises and delays,

and coinciding with the introduction in the U. N. General Assembly of a complaint against France for violation of human rights in Morocco, pre-publication censorship was lifted. However, post-publication regulations including authority to suspend publications and to impose penalties were made more stringent. Thus, by the *dahir* of December 25, 1951, provisions were made for fines up to 30,000,000 francs and prison terms up to 5 years, when a publication incurs official disfavor.

The Protectorate authorities have not been hesitant to apply these stringent measures. For example, in the course of a three month period (April, May and June 1952), the following suspensions were imposed upon Moroccan newspapers:

El-Alam (daily) — suspended for 15 days.

Raii el Ain (weekly) — suspended twice for 1 and 2 months respectively.

Al Maghreb (weekly) — suspended for 1 month.

Infringements upon the freedom of the Moroccan press came also through arbitrary restrictions placed upon the circulation and sale of nationalist newspapers, and by denying to Moroccans adequate printing facilities and equipment, the procurement of which is controlled by the Protectorate Administration. The determination of the French to control thought in Morocco is carried to the extent of imposing sharp restrictions on the importation and circulation of foreign publications. In 1948, the list of prohibited publications numbered 1,200. Since December 10, 1952, when the latest wave of repression was initiated, no nationalist newspapers have been permitted to appear. Their plants have been occupied and their editors arbitrarily arrested or exiled.

Freedom of Movement. Moroccans are denied the right to move about freely even within the borders of the French Zone of Morocco, let alone travel to the other zones of the country or to foreign lands. To move from one Moroccan zone to another, Moroccans must have a special visa, in addition to the usual passport. Within the French zone itself, they must have a special permit entitling them to travel from one region to another. Granting of such permits is generally not automatic but up to the discretion of French authorities. The result is that Moroccans find it increasingly difficult to move about freely in their own country, while foreigners may do so practically at will.

Equality Before the Law. Two distinct judicial systems function in Morocco: one for foreigners and the other for Moroccans. The first is modeled on the French judiciary system. It includes civil and penal codes, which formally guarantee to the foreign inhabitants of Morocco the inviolability of their rights. The second system, applicable only to Moroccans, can not be called a system at all. It is marked by confusion, the absence of codes, the lack of the right to appeal and the failure to guarantee the rights of the individual.

It is claimed by the French administration that Moroccan justice is based on traditional Islamic and Berber law. Actually, what exists is a distortion of the traditional systems of law — a distortion brought on deliberately by the French administration as part of the policy of weakening Moroccan institutions and placing them entirely under the control of French officials. The traditional dispensers of justice in Morocco, the cadiis and the pashas, go through the motions of administering justice. But this is no more than a transparent facade behind which the local French official exerts the real power, for the Moroccan tribunals are mere instruments in the hands of the French authorities, who use them, not to defend rights and insure justice, but to defend and maintain the privileged colonial regime of the Protectorate. The system of justice has in effect been integrated into the French administrative system and forms parts of the machinery through which political control over the country is maintained. No separation of powers between the administrative and legislative branches, on the one hand, and the judicial branch on the other, exists in Morocco. All these powers

are exercised by the same French authorities. Thus, a Moroccan who may be wronged by an act of the local administrator has no judicial recourse for actually the administrator controls justice in the area and no appeal is possible.

It should also be noted that in nine-tenths of Moroccan courts, representation by legal counsel is prohibited. Moreover, the practice of imprisoning Moroccans or remanding them into forced residence by administrative decree has become a very frequent, almost daily, occurrence. This practice has reached new heights during the current wave of repression. Moroccan leaders have been held practically incommunicado without any charges being presented against them. Brutal police methods have been used to try to force them to confess to alleged criminal acts which they did not commit.²

2. See *Morocco News Bulletin*, No. 14, January 30, 1953.

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